

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΘΕΟΣ

OR AN

Historical Account

OF THE

HERESIE

Denying the

GODHEAD

OF

CHRIST.


LONDON,

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TO THE
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After the Heresie denying the Divinity of Christ had been long silenced by Argument and Discipline, it was again brought upon the Stage by Arius, whose Character makes not much for its Credit. For tho' in holy Orders, he was proud and aspiring, subtle witted, and an excellent Proficient in the Art of Flattery. Besides he was one that had such an overweening Conceit of his own Abilities, that he thought all to be his Inferiours in Desert. And through this his vain unhappy Temper he became impatient of Contradiction, full of Envy and Stomach, and bold to broach Heresie. And it was observed That Discipline and good Counsel, which usually make others better, made Arius the worse; and the more his Heresie was condemned, the more he laboured to propagate and defend it.

Sulpitius lib. 2. observes, that the Arian Heresie receiv'd no small Advantage from the Quality of the Persons chosen to be its publick Managers. Who (as he tells us) were Senes callidi, old stanch

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Disputants, who had been long war'd in Controversie. Whereas the Managers chosen by the Orthodox, were Young Men, parum docti & parum cauti, fuller of Warmth than of Learning. And this had a great Influence upon the Cause, all Men concluding of the rest on either side, by the Quality of the Managers.

Besides, the Orthodox dealt plainly, argu'd with Openness and Simplicity, and in their Forms of Confession were clear and ingenuous. Whereas the Hereticks wrought with great Subtily, declining all Artifice that might advantage their Cause; and in their Confessions, they loved Ambiguity and Equivocation, and (which did not a little turn to their Advantage) they always labour'd to begot in the several Emperours & their Favourites a good liking of their Doctrine, and either to gain them to it, or not greatly to disapprove it.

But (according to an Ancient Writer) it may justly create our Wonder, that notwithstanding the Authors of this Venom are long since dead and gone, the wicked Doctrine shou'd still remain, and that after so many Confutations and Censures thereof, any shou'd be found to maintain and diffuse it. But our Wonder will cease when we consider with judicious Hooker "That the Weeds of Heresie being grown up to Ripeness, do even in cutting down sometimes scatter those

Seeds,

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"Seeds, which for a while lie unseen and buried
"in the Earth, but afterwards freshly spring
"up again no less pernicious than at the first.
And the same learned Author observes, that
the Heresies concerning the Holy Trinity have
of later Years grown up no where so fast
as where the Athanasian Creed and the Glo-
ria Patri have not been made use of. And
no Wonder that Heresies should thrive in those
Places where the best Preservatives against
them have been neglected.

For as to the Creed of Athanasius, what
is it else, but a Divine Explication of the
chief Articles of the Christian Faith? Which
Creed was so highly valued by the Church,
that she made it part of her Liturgy. And
as for the Gloria, or the Hymns and Sen-
tences of Glory, they were a Part of the
Liturgy long before the Athanasian Belief:
And they were ever look'd upon as an heavn-
ly Acclamation of joyful Applause to his Praise
in whom we believe. And from the beginning
the Church of Christ by a secret universal
Impulse of God's Spirit, always ty'd it self
to end neither Sermon nor almost any special
Matter wherein the Things of God were
concerned, without some peculiar Words of Ho-
nour and Glory to the Trinity, which all true
Christians believe and worship. And who-

ever

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ever omitted to do this, was suspected to want a right Faith of the Trinity, and to doubt of the Equality of the Persons: For if we really believe, "The Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to be all one, the Glory Equal, and the Majesty Coeternal, why do we not publicly own it," by ascribing equal Glory to each of them? And where can we do this with more Solemnity than at the Close of those Homilies and Discourses which we make unto the People? The Use of the Gloria was never quarrell'd at or omitted by any till Arius, who being press'd with this Usage of the Church, as an Argument against the Heresy which makes the Son inferiour to the Father, labour'd to corrupt this Hymn, saying, Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost. But the Church was careful to maintain the ancient Usage, adding on
Con. V. Purpose against Arius, As it was
s. 7. in the Beginning, is now, and ever shall be.

The Gloria Patri it has ever been esteem'd the Christians Creed and Hymn. For the Summ of the Christians Faith is the Mystery of the Trinity, by which he declares against all Hereticks in the World. And it is also the Christians Hymn wherewith he ought to close all his Religious Services, Praises, Prayers, Thanksgivings

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givings, Confession of Faith and Sins. And as to the great Mystery contain'd in the Gloria, it was well with Christianity when Men went no farther therein than the Scripture led them, and when they rested in such Discoveries of the Trinity as God has been pleas'd to give in his Word. By which Word if we wou'd once guide our Sentiments, and submit them to it, we might hope to see all those Disputes buried in silence, which now make so great a Noise: Ridente Turca, non dolente Judæo. And if those very Men, who are at present so keenly engag'd in Debates about the Trinity, wou'd speak out, they wou'd tell us That Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity is a Mystery surpassing their Abilities to explain; and that it surmounts the Power of humane Nature to give a satisfactory Answer to all the Doubts, Cavils and Questions which bold Men may raise about it.

Let the Mysteries of Christianity continue at that Distance where God has set them to be believ'd and ador'd, and then Peace and Truth will meet and embrace.

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WE may know the better
how to determine of the
Opinion which denies the
Divinity of our Saviour,
if we pursue it through its whole History,
and consider where it first took Root,
when it began to spread, and how in time
it over-ran so great a Part of the Christian
Church. Now in doing this, we must
look beyond the Annals of Christianity:
For long before that Christianity was
known

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known by Name in the World, its Author was robb'd of his Godhead, by that very People which hop'd for the largest Benefits from him. For at least, ever since the Schools of the *Rabbins* gain'd Authority among the *Jews*, that insatuated Nation have been of Opinion, that the *Messiah* whom they still expect, is not to be the Son of God in that Sense in which the Christians own him to be the second Person in the Holy Trinity: For tho' the *Jews* by many Texts of Scripture, prove that the *Messiah* shall be the Son of God, yet they hold he is not to be the Son of God by Nature, but only by Deputation: So that they deny his Eternal Existence and Deity. Now this is an Opinion which was afterwards followed by those *Hereticks* who held the Kingdom of Christ was not perpetual and eternal; and that he was made the Son of God only from the time that he took our Flesh, and was born of the Virgin. When Christ put that Question to his Disciples, *Whom do Men say, that I, the Son of Man am?* He reflected upon a double Error in his Country-men the *Jews*, concerning the *Messiah*. The first Error respected the Manner of his coming among them, which they expected shou'd be in Secular Pomp and Grandeur,

Grandeur, and attended with the Conquest and subduing of the Nations. From which Error he labour'd to withdraw their Minds, by recalling them to the original Promise of his Coming, and shewing them that the end thereof was not to conquer Kingdoms, but to bruise the Serpent's Head; and to manifest that he was the Seed of the Woman, which was promised to do this, he takes upon him no higher Title than that of the SON of MAN. A second Error the *Jews* had imbib'd concerning the *Messiah*, respected his Descent: For they were uncertain whether he was to arise from the Living or from the Dead; which Doubt Christ also fully cleared, when he expressly owned himself to be the Son of Man, or the Son that was promised to the first Man, who should be born from the Seed of the Woman. Christ did not so much enquire whether the *Jews* thought him to be the *Messias*, as what kind of Person they thought him to be; as he was the *Messias*: So that the Question he put to his Disciples did not so much regard his Person, as the Quality of his Person, and whether the *Messias*, whom they all acknowledged, should be the Son of Man, was not also to be the Son of God, not only by Adoption, Deputation and Promotion;

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but by Nature. And the Disciples returned an Answer to their Master's Question, according to the Opinion the Multitude had of him, telling him that some took him for *John the Baptist*, some for *Elias*, and some for one of the old Prophets, who was either returned to Life, or else that the Soul of one of them was transmigrated and come into his Body ; which Opinion the *Pharisees* had borrowed of the *Pythagoreans*.

And when the Disciples had given Christ this Account of the various Sentiments the *Jewish* People had of the Quality of his Person, he was pleas'd to ask them their Opinion of him : *But whom do ye (my Disciples) say that I am ?* To which Demand, *Simon Peter* in the Name of the rest, makes this Reply : *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* The Answer is not only wonderfully emphatical by reason of the Multitude of Articles that are in it, but also because that *Peter* did not return it of his own Head, nor by any Dictate inferior to that of the Holy Ghost : " For *Flesh and Blood* (as they signifie meer *Man in Opposition to God*) did not put this Answer in *Simon's* Mouth, but it was immediately from Heaven : For from thence he was inspired to declare, that

Jesus

Jesus was the true *Messias*, and by Nature the Son of the living God. He needed no Revelation to enable him to confess that the *Messias* was the Son of God by Deputation : Every ordinary *Jew* could have told him so much : For it was generally believed that when ever God should be pleased to send the *Messias*, he would depute him to be his Son ; but that he was to be his Son by Nature : Very God of very God, was no Article in the *Jewish* Creed. And this great Truth was not founded on Humane Testimony, nor on the Vores and Wishes of Men, but on the Testimony of God himself : For it was he that put it into *Peter's* Mind to declare the Divinity of Christ, and by that Means to settle the uncertain wavering Thoughts that were on Foot, concerning the Quality of the Person of the *Messias*, and that it might be no longer doubted that he was God. The Divinity of Christ is indeed the Rock on which the Christian Church is built, and that which makes it stand impregnable against the Gates of Hell, the greatest Power and Artifice that can possibly be used to destroy it.

From what has now been intimated, we may conclude, that the Denial of

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Christ's Divinity, came originally from the *Jews*, and that it is an Opinion which receiv'd its full Confutation from Heaven: So that it may justly create our Wonder, that after so solemn a Confession as *Peter* Made of Christ's Divinity, and that too by the Dictate of God himself, that any who believe the Scripture shou'd be so hardly as to gainsay it. But seeing it has happened to be otherwise, and that among the Professors of Christianity some have so far Judaiz'd in this Particular, as sacrilegiously to rob our Lord of his Divinity. We are next to consider who and what sort of Persons they were that first did thus.

Eusebius, upon whose Authority I depend in this Point, writes, how that one *Theodotus* was the Inventer of this Atheistical Opinion, and that he was a Man of mean Education, being by Profession a Tanner. This Man drew into his Heresie another of his own Name, who was a Banker, and both together proselyted *Aselepiodotus*; of whose Quality and Condition the Historian makes no mention. This *Aselepiodotus* gained to his Opinion *Natalis*, a Confessour, a Man of Piety and good Meaning; who being afterwards convinced of his Error, recanted

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ed it. This Heresie was no sooner heard of, but it was exploded and writ against, and Enquiry made after those who maintained it. And one *Artemon* being found a zealous Stickler in Defence of this blasphemous Heresie, it was called the Heresie of *Artemon*: In Confutation of which several Pieces were composed by the Ancients, evincing that the Opinion which asserted our Saviour to be meer Man, was an Innovation of late Date amongst the Christians. Of those Tracts that were written on this Argument, none was so elaborate as that called the *Little Labyrinth*; whose Author, according to *Nicephorus*, is unknown: And *Theodoret* who mentions the Story of *Theodosius* the Tanner, and *Natalis* the Bishop, attests that he had taken it out of the Book called the *Little Labyrinth*. *Photinus* relates, that *Caius* a Roman Presbyter, living in the Time of the Pope's, *Viktor* and *Zephyrin*, in the Year 199, wrote a Book against the Heresie of *Artemon*, but says that it was not the same with the *Little Labyrinth*. But to proceed out of the *Little Labyrinth*, *Eusebius* tells us, that those who affirmed our Saviour to be a meer Man, boasted much of the Antiquity of their Opinion, and how that all the An-

cients, and the very Apostles themselves received and taught the same things that they asserted; and that the same was taught till the Times of *Victor*, who from *Peter* was the thirteenth Bishop of *Rome*; but that when *Zephyrinus* was made Pope, the same Opinion began to be adulterated, which (saith *Eusebius* out of the *Little Labyrinth*) might seem probable, if it were not contradicted by the sacred Scriptures, and the Writings of some Christians ancienter than the Times of *Victor*, who lived in the End of the second *Century*: For *Justin*, who died about the Year 166, and *Tatianus* who lived about the same time; as also *Clement*, wrote in the Defence of the Truth, against the *Gentiles*, and the Heresies of their own Times; and these in all their Books have maintained the Divinity of Christ. And who is he that is ignorant of the Books of *Irenaeus*, *Melito* the *Sardian* Bishop, and others, which declare Christ to be God and Man? *Pliny* (in his Epistle to *Trajan*) tells him how it was the Custom of the Christians to compose Psalms and Hymns in Honour of Christ, in which they attributed Divinity to him, and sang forth his Praises as God. These very Psalms and Hymns, written

written at the Beginning of Christianity by its faithful Professors, yield an undeniable Attestation of their believing Christ to be God. So that the Hereticks who first held the contrary, had no reason to say that their Opinion was the Creed of the Primitive Christians : And it is a shameless Falsity to affirm, that *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, was of their Judgment : For *Victor* was so far from abetting those who held Christ to be a meer Man, that he condignly punished them ; as was evident in the Case of *Theodotus* the Tanner (the Founder of this Apostacy) whom *Victor* excommunicated and proscrib'd : Which certainly he would not have done, had he been of the same Judgment with him. Thus stood Affairs in the Times of *Victor*, and in what Posture they were in the Days of his Successor *Zephyrinus*, who was made Bishop of *Rome* about the ninth Year of *Severus's* Empire, comes now to be recounted.

The Person that compil'd the Book concerning the execrable Heresie, now treated of, relates a very remarkable Passage that happened in the Days of *Zephyrinus*, concerning one *Natalis*, who, as *Valesius* conjectures, was that *Cecilius Natalis*, who, by a Dispute of *Ottavium* *Ja-*

Marinus's before *Minucius Felix* at Rome, was converted to the Christian Faith; as *Minucius Felix* relates in his Dialogue; and the Name, the Time, and the Profession of this Person, do all agree to make this probable.

This *Natalis* was a Confessor, and lived at the Time when the *Little Labyrinth* was composed; but by the Craft of *Aclepiodotus* and *Theodotus* the Banker, both Disciples of *Theodotus* the Tanner, he was seduced to their Opinion, and persuaded by them to be elected a Bishop of their Heresie. And the most prevailing Argument with *Natalis* to accept of this Office, was the Consideration of a monthly Salary, amounting to an hundred and fifty Pence, which they promised duly to pay him. *Natalis* being thus made a Bishop, turned a vehement Assertor of the Heresie of *Theodotus*; but he did not long therein continue with any Sedateness or Complacency: For by *Visions* in his Sleep, he was frequently admonished by our Lord, whose Compassion towards him was so great, that he would not let him who had been a Witness of his own Sufferings, to perish in his Heresie, and under Excommunication. But *Natalis* being bewitch'd with the Bait of Primacy

Primacy among those of his Sect, and with the Lucre he got by being their Bishop, he regarded not the Visions he had in his Sleep, but continu'd as zealous in the Defence of his Opinion, as if he had never been warned from Heaven to reject it. Whereupon it pleased the compassionate God to send his holy Angels to chastize him, who for a whole Night having loaded him with severe Stripes, he was therewith so far awaken'd, that he thought of nothing but a speedy Recantation and Repentance; And rising very early the next Morning, he put on Sackcloth, and besprinkled himself with Ashes, and with Tears in his Eyes, prostrated himself before *Zephyrinus* the Bishop, and fell down not only at the Feet of the Clergy, but of the Laity also; and with Tears mov'd the Compassion of the Church; which having view'd the print of the Stripes he had received, and observed his sorrowful Carriage, and other Tokens of his Repentance, at last, tho' with great Difficulty, she admitted him into her Communion.

But besides the *Little Labyrinth*, out of which *Eusebius* transcribed this Story of *Natalis*, he takes notice of other Books written against the Hereticks, that denied Christ

Christ to be God, which Books represent them to have been Persons of the vilest Impiouness and Immorality: And such as impudently adulterated the sacred Scriptures, rejected the Canon of the primitive *Faith*, and were ignorant of Christ: For they neglected the holy Bible; and instead of enquiring into its Meaning, they laboured to obscure the Light thereof, bestowing their Pains in finding out such Schemes of Argumentation as might confirm the System of their Impiety. If any propos'd unto them a Text of the divine Scriptures, they examined whether a connex or a disjunctive Proposition, might be made out of it; and instead of studying the Word of God, they applied themselves to Geometry, and to the reading of *Euclid*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus* and *Galen*; admiring the Books the last had written concerning the Forms of Syllogisms, and the whole Body of Philosophy. They made use also of the Arts of Infidels for the Confirmation of their Heretical Opinion; and by the Craft of some Atheists, they adulterated the sincere Authority of the divine Scriptures, on which they impudently laid their Hands, saying, that it ought to be corrected: They put out several Copies of the Bible; which Copies,

upon

upon Examination, and comparing them one with another, were found to be very disagreeing: For the Copies of *Aselepiodorus* were much different from those of *Theodorus*; and the Disciples of each of them laboured diligently to amend the Corrections of their Masters. The Copies of *Hermophilus* differed from those of *Aselepiodorus*; and those Copies of Scripture, written by *Apollonides* differed one from another: But all the Copies agree in an audacious wresting and deforming the Word of God: And we may well imagine that these Hereticks were not ignorant of their wicked Acting in depraving the divine Scriptures: For either they did not believe the divine Scriptures to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they were Infidels: Or if they did believe this, and yet went about to correct them, then they must think themselves wiser than the Holy Ghost, and what were they then but mad Men? For they cannot deny this their bold Fact in correcting the Scriptures to have been done by them; because the Copies were written by their own Hands: And they did never pretend to have received such Copies as they produc'd, from those who were their Instructors; nor could they ever shew the

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Copies out of which they transcrib'd their pretended Corrections. But this was not all, for the old Hereticks, who denied Christ to be God, were not content only to corrupt the Scriptures, to make them speak in Favour of their Heresie; but some of them quite rejected both the Law and the Prophets, under a Pretence of the Grace given by the Gospel.

This is the Account which *Eusebius* gives of the first Impugners of the Divinity of our Lord: And they appear to have been bold, crafty, assuming Men: Men of that Impudence, as to affirm the first Christians, even the Apostles themselves, to have been of their Opinion; tho' they can't be ignorant, how that both the Inspired Scriptures, and the first and best Christian Writers attested the quite contrary: And had we no other Proof hereof than the Psalms and Hymns composed and sung by the first Christians in Praise of Christ, even these wou'd sufficiently demonstrate that they did own him to be true God, or else we must conclude them to have been Idolaters, who sang those Hymns to him as God. But the Villany and Poison of these Hereticks was most signally display'd in those Corruptions of the Scriptures, which they called Corrections:

For

For this was to envenome the Spring, and to keep both themselves and others from ever coming to the Knowledge of the Truth. But their Devices and Councils were all disappointed in their Disagreement about that which they called the Corrections of Scripture: For they cou'd never hit of any Harmony in their Copies, nor determine which of their correct Copies of Scripture, shou'd be the Canon.

After the Heresie of *Artemon* had been condemned and refuted by the Writers of those Times, we hear no more of it till about the middle of the third Century; when it began again to be revived by *Paul* of *Samosata*. This *Paul* was Bishop of *Antioch*, and notorious for the abject, mean Opinion which he had of our Saviour, denying that the Word was ever truly united to the Humanity in the Person of Christ, and that he was ever any more but a meer Man. For the Suppressing of which Heresie, and Censure of its Reviver, a Council was held at *Antioch*; where all the Pastors of the Churches did assemble, only *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* was not there, which he excus'd by reason of his Age and Infirmary of Body: But he declar'd by Letter his Sense and Opinion concerning the Matter in Debate.

At

At this Council there was assembled the most eminent Bishops of those Times, such as *Firmilianus* Bishop of *Cæsaria* in *Capadocia*, *Gregory* and his Brother *Athenodorus*, Bishops of the Churches of *Pontus*: There were also present *Helenus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, *Nicbomas* Bishop of *Iconium*, *Hymenæus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Theotecnus* Bishop of *Cæsaria*, on the Confines of *Jerusalem*, *Maximus* of *Bostra*, together with many eminent Priests and Deacons. All these being assembled in the same Place, Disputations and Questions were raised about the Heresie of *Paul*: In all which he was observed to use great Art in concealing his heterodox Opinions, whilst others were as diligent in finding them out and exposing them. At last the Synod, which consisted of a very great Number of Bishops, convicted *Paul*, and unanimously condemn'd him of false Doctrine, and by Excommunication, cast him out of the Catholick Church. The deepest Wound the Heretick received in this Council was from *Malchio* a Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*, an eloquent Man, and one very famous for teaching the *Grecian* Philosophy: He was also much taken Notice of for his surpassing Sincerity in the Christian Faith. This *Malchio* having undertaken to dispute against

gainst *Paul*, wonderfully detected and confuted the Frauds and Sophistries of that crafty Heretick, by which and his Excellent Virtues, *Malchion* gained such a Credit and Renown, that he was thought worthy to be canoniz'd in the *Greek Menology* at 28th of October.

The Prelates being assembled in Council at *Antioch*, they agreed upon sending a Letter to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and to *Maximus*, who succeeded *Dionysius* in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*; and having done this, they sent the same Letter over all the Provinces; wherein they set down the pernicious and obstinate Heterodoxy of *Paul*, the Confutations and Disputes that had been held against him; together with a Narrative of his Life and Carriage. A Copy of which Epistle as it stands entire in *Eusebius*; and translated at *Cambridge*, I have thought not improper here to insert.

The

The Synodical Epistle of the Antiochian Fathers, concerning Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, excommunicated by them for denying the Divinity of Christ.

To *Dionysius* and *Maximus*, and to all our Fellow-Ministers over the whole World, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; and to the whole Catholick Church under Heaven, *Helenus*, *Hymenæus*, *Theophilus*, *Theotecnus*, *Maximus*, *Proclus*, *Nichornas*, *Alianus*, *Paul*, *Bolanus*, *Protogenes*, *Hierax*, *Euty chius*, *Theodorus*, *Malchion*, *Lucius*, and all the Bishops of the Neighbouring Cities and Provinces, which are with us; the Presbyters and Deacons, and the Churches of God, to the beloved Bretheren in the Lord, Health.

WE have written to, and entreated many of the Bishops far remote, that they would come to assist in the curing of this pestilent Doctrine: For we wrote to *Dionysius* Bishop of Alexandria, and to *Firmilianus* Bishop of Capadocia, Men of blessed Memory. The first of them wrote to Antioch; but did not so much as vouchsafe the Author of the He-

Hereſie, a Salutation ; neither did he write to him by Name, but to the whole Church : A Copy of which Letter, we have here inſerted. The other (to wit) Firmilianus, came twice, and condemned Paul's Noveltyes, as we who were then preſent, do atteſt, and many others do alſo know as well as we. But when Paul promiſed to recant, Firmilianus believing him, and hoping that the Buſineſs might be compos'd without any Reproach to our Religion, he deferr'd his Sentence, being deceiv'd by him who denyed his God and Lord, and who kept not the Faith which he formerly profeſſ'd.

But Firmilianus was now coming to Antioch, and came as far as Tarſus : For he had Experience of his malicious Wickedneſs, who denyed his God. But in the Interim of our Aſſembling, and whiſt we were ſending for him, and expecting his Coming, he died.

But ſince that Paul has return'd to forg'd and ſpurious Opinions, departing from the true Rule, it is not our Concern to examine the Actions of one who is out of the Church ; neither how he who was formerly poor and indigent (having no Eſtate of his Parents, nor got any thing by any Trade or Profeſſion) is now become incredibly rich, by his unlawful and ſacrilegious Dealings, by Extortion and Vexatiousneſs, uſed towards the Brethren, and by taking Bribes from thoſe that were in-

jw'd, promising them to help them to their Right,
 for a Reward: But he deceiv'd them, getting
 Money for doing nothing, through their Willing-
 ness (who were entangled in Suits) to give any
 thing to be deliver'd from those Troubles.
 He supposed Gain to be Godliness: Neither de-
 clare we how proud and insolent this Hertick was,
 being invest'd with secular Dignities, and desi-
 ring to be stiled a Ducenarius, rather than a
 Bishop; and how he walked through the Forum,
 reading and dictating Letters as he walked in
 publick, with a numerous Guard about him, some
 going before and some following after him: In-
 somuch that there was an ill Opinion and an O-
 dium brought upon the Faith, thro' his Pride
 and Hangbiness. Neither does it concern us to
 examine his vain-glorious Ambition in the Ec-
 clestiastick Conventions, which he greedily pursues
 being desirous of Glory, and affected with an ima-
 ginary Pomp; with such Devices as these, ter-
 rifying the Minds of the Faithful and Ig-
 norant,

Besides, he erected for himself a Tribunal, and
 a lofty Throne, not like one of Christ's Disciples;
 but had a place called his Secretum, like as the se-
 cular Magistrates have. He also used to clap
 his Hands upon his Thigh and stamp upon the
 Throne with his Feet: And such as did not com-
 mend him, and shake their Oraria as they
 usually did in the Theatres, and did not make

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loud Acclamations, nor leapt up and down in the same manner as his Favourite did (which were a Company of silly Men and Women that during their hearkening to him, used such Indecencies) but were attentive to him with such a seemly Reverence and Decency as becomes the House of God; those Persons he rebuk'd and reproach'd.

In his publick Discourses he reflected upon the Doctors of our Religion that were dead, with all imaginable Scorn and Petulancy; But he magnified himself, not as became a Bishop, but rather like a Counterfeit and an Impostor.

He abolished the Psalms which were usually sung in Honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a Novel and the Compositions of modern Men. On the great Feast of Easter, he appointed Women to sing Psalms in his Commendation in the Body of the Church; which whosoever heard, might justly tremble at: He also privately sent the Bishops of the neighbouring Villages and Towns, and the Presbyters who were his Flatterers, to make Discourses to the People in Commendation of him. He will not joyn in a Confession with us, that the Son of God came down from Heaven; that we may premise some things of what we shall hereafter more at large declare in Writing: Neither shall this be affirmed in our bare Word, but it is evident in many

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Places up and down his Acts, which we have sent you. And more especially where he says, that Jesus Christ is of the Earth. But those who chant out his Praise, and sing his Encomiums amongst the People, do say, that this their (impious) Master is an Angel come down from Heaven. Nor do's that haughty Fellow prohibit those Expressions, but is himself present when they are spoken.

What need we here mention his and his Presbyters and Deacons subintroduct Women (as the Antiochians term them) in whom he conceals, not only this, but many other damnable Crimes, which he is conscious of, and of which he has been convicted, they are guilty; that by this means he may keep them so obnoxious as not to adventure through a Fear of their own Guilt, to accuse him for his impious Words and Practices? Moreover he has enrich'd them, and for this Reason he is belov'd and admir'd by them who are covetous.

But why do we write these things? We know, (Beloved) that it is the Duty of a Bishop, and of the whole Clergy, to be Examples of good Works to the People. Neither are we ignorant, that by introducing Women into their Society, some have wholly fallen away from Goodness, and others have been suspected: And although it should be granted that he committed nothing that was unchaste, yet the very Suspicion which a
rises

risers from such a thing, ought to be avoided, lest it should be offensive to any one, and induce others to imitate it. For how can he reprove or admonish another not to frequent the Company of Women, and to take heed lest he fall, who indeed has sent away one, but now keeps two that are young and beautiful, and carries them along with him wherever he goes, and indulges and stuffs himself with Delicacies?

These are the Reasons that all People sigh and lament privately: But they so dread his Tyranny and Authority, that they dare not accuse him. Now (as before we have said) any one would call a Man, who professes the Catholick Doctrine, and is reckoned of our Communion, to an Account for these things. But from one who has abjured the Mystery of our Religion, and has boasted in that cursed Heresie of Artemon, we judge it needful to require an Account of these Things.

Having therefore excommunicated this contumacious Enemy of God, we are necessitated to ordain another Bishop in his stead over the Catholick Church (as we are persuaded not without the Providence of God) to wit Domnus (the Son of Demetrianus, of blessed Memory, who before him was the eminent Governour of that See) a Man adorn'd with all Accomplishments requisite for a Bishop; which we have therefore signified to you that you may write to him, and receive from him Communicatory Letters: But

as for this Paul, let him go to Artemon, if he pleases, and let the Followers of Artemon hold Communion with him.

This is the Circular Epistle which was composed and dispersed by the second *Antiochian* Synod, which *Baronius* has placed at the Year of Christ 272. Seventy Fathers, saith *Athanasius*, were present at this Council, besides Presbyters and Deacons, who did all unanimously concur in the Excommunication and Devestiture of *Paul* of *Samosata*; who according to what is intimated in this Synodical Letter, was a Man of great Injustice and Avarice, and also of great Pride and suspected Chastity. His Injustice and Covetousness, were but too evident in the Methods which he used to make himself rich. His Extortion is particularly taken Notice of: Which he might commit, either by the Terror of his Authority, like Soldiers who fright and plunder Men, which was forbidden by our Saviour: Or as he exercised Extortion by Deceit and Cunning, when under Pretence of favouring and helping Men, he took Bribes. And to this the Fathers of the Council in all Probability had respect, when they say that he did *οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἀδικεῖν*, extort the Brethren,

Next

Next, his Pride was evident in his Ambitious affecting to be called a *Ducenarius*, which was, an Officer appointed by the Emperour to collect and receive his Revenues; who for his Service, was allowed a yearly Salary of two hundred *SESTERCES*, and from thence had his Name *Ducenarius*. The *Antiochian* Fathers take Notice of this Heretick's Pride in his haughty and pompons walking through the *ayes*, as that Word may signifie any promiscuous or popular Assembly, met together, either for Traffick, as in a Fair or Market, or Hall, or Court of Judicature. Which Places, 'tis like, the vain-glorious Man frequented on purpose to receive the Acclamations of his Flatterers. His Pride appeared likewise in erecting of a lofty Throne. For although Episcopal Thrones were customary, even from the times of the Apostles as we may conclude from the Mention *Eusebius* makes of the Throne of *James*, Brother of the Lord; yet this Throne was no more than the Bishop's Chair, which was but little higher than the rest of the Clergies: But *Paul* erected a Tribunal in the Church for himself, and sate on a Seat higher than it was before. For though the Bishops ever sate somewhat higher than the rest of the People, yet we find not that they had a

Tribu-

bunal. This Piece of State was the peculiar Invention of *Paul* the Apostate, as was also the *Secretum*, or Place railed about in the inner Court, and hung with Curtains, where none sat but the *Judices majores*, or Judges of Life and Death; or such as heard Trials of Criminals. And when *Paul* chose to have such a *Secretum*, it shewed he was of an ambitious Spirit, and that he immoderately affected secular Grandeur, having rejected not only the Divinity of Christ, but also his Doctrine and Practice concerning Lowliness and Humility: For Vanity swell'd him so much, that on all Occasions he courted Applause, and expected that those who were Auditors of his Homilies, should express their Praise and Commendation of what he said, by shaking their *Oraria*, or Handkerchiefs, as Spectators did at Theatres, to declare their Approbation of what was acted.

And to manifest yet further his insatiable Thirst of Praise, he privily excited the *Chorepiscopi*, or Vicar-Bishops, to make publick Discourses and Harangues in his Commendation, and to extol his Merits and Government, in their Popular Meetings. But the infamous Carriage of this haughty Heretick was not bounded with filthy Lucre and vain Ostentation; but it went on to a vehe-

vehement Suspicion of Incontinency with those Women whom the *Antiochians* called *oveloauxras*, of which he had always with him those that were young and beautiful, with whom he liv'd in great sensual Delights; as Feasting, Drinking, and indulging himself in the common Incentives of Lust. This sort of Women are neither Wives nor Concubines, but such as were kept by the Clergy upon a Pretence of Piety. *Valesius* says, they were by some called *Sisters*, and by others *Commantes*; because they constantly abode with those Presbyters and Deacons, who chose them, as was pretended, not upon the Account of Lust, but for Religion: And the Clergy of those Times gave it out, they did this in Imitation of the Apostles, who carried Women along with them whither ever they went to preach the Gospel: Which Practice was founded upon those Words of *St. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 5. But this Custom of superinduced Women, was condemned by the Synod, and it is warmly inveighed against by *Jerom.* in his *Ep.* to *Eustochius*. And notwithstanding that the least of the mention'd Crimes, was in the purer Days of Christian Discipline, Ground enough to cast any (guilty thereof, much more a Bishop) out of the Communion of the Church;

yet

yet *Paul*, tho' he deserv'd to be, was not censur'd for his Manners, but his Heresie, in denying Christ to be God: And for a further Proof of the Pride and Obstinacy of this ill Man, he slighted even Excommunication, and was so far from being humbled thereby, that he grew more insolent. For being Canonically excommunicated, and deprived by the *Antiochian* Fathers, he would not quit the Possession of his Church but kept it for some Years after the Sentence of being deposed, was pass'd against him, and would not obey the Decree of the Synod: But the better to fortifie his Contumacy, he put himself under the Protection of *Zenobia*, an Eastern Queen, into whose Favour, by servile Flatteries, he had sily insinuated himself. But when *Zenobia* was conquer'd, the Christian Prelates petitioned *Aurelianus*, that this *Paul*, who had formerly conspired with *Zenobia* against the *Romans*, might be removed from the See of *Antioch*. And *Aurelianus* was at that time so well affected toward the Christians, that he granted their Request, and gave Command that the Bishop's Palace should be resigned to whom the Christian Bishops should assign it by their Letters. Thus was the Heretick with great Disgrace thrust out of the Church by
 the

the secular Power, in the third Year of *Aurelianus*. It is remarkable that in the first Council at *Antioch*, *Paul* seem'd to have recanted his Heresie ; but returning to it again, as a Dog to his Vomit, he was deprived by the Second, which was held on Purpose to examine and censure his Doctrine concerning Christ ; which (saith the Council) was no other than what *Annas* and *Caiphas* taught concerning the *Messias* ; namely, that he was to be the Son of God, no otherwise than by Favour and the divine Grace, that accompanied him after God had made choice of him to be the Saviour of Mankind.

Paul of *Samosata* being now suppress'd, his Heresie was no more heard of till the Reign of *Constantine*, who (having vanquish'd his Collegue *Licinius*, and after put him to death upon his new Revolt) had Command over the whole *Roman* Empire, and being proclaim'd Emperor and *Augustus*, he endeavoured to augment the Affairs of the Christians, who by his Means enjoyed a profound and secure Peace ; which in all Probability might have continu'd, had not the Christians fallen into intestine Wars among themselves ; which broke forth first in the Churches of *Alexandria*, occasioned by a private Dispute in the College there : But in a very short Space (as *Socrates* ob-

serves

serves) over-ran all *Egypt, Lybia* and *Th-*
bais, and the rest of the Cities and Pro-
 vinces. The Quarrel began thus. *Alex-*
xander who succeeded *Achilles* in the See of
Alexandria, discoursing one Day in the Pre-
 sence of his Presbyters, and the rest of his
 Clergy, too curiously concerning the My-
 stery of the Holy *Trinity*, he asserted this
 Point of Divinity, That there was an Uni-
 ty in the *Trinity*. But *Arius* one of *Alexan-*
der's Presbyters, being skilful in the Faculty
 of Reasoning, supposed that the Bishop
 designed to introduce the Opinion of *Sa-*
bellius, who affirmed the Father, Son and
 Holy Ghost to be but one Substance, one
 Person under three several Names: Which
 in the Time of the old Testament gave the
 Law under the Notion of the Father; In
 the New Testament was made Man, in the
 Capacity of the Son; and descended after-
 wards upon the Apostles, in Quality of
 the Holy Ghost; which Opinion *Dionysius*
 opposed with so much Eagerness and
 Warmth of Disputation, that he bent it too
 much the contrary Way, asserting not on-
 ly a Distinction of "*of Persons in the Trini-*
ty", but also a Difference of Essence, an In-
 "*quality of Power and Glory*."

For which *Dionysius* was severely censu-
 red as one of those who in great
 Mea-

Measure opened a Gap to those *Arian* Impieties, which afterwards broke into the Church. *Arius* (as *Socrates* observes) fell into an Opinion wholly opposite to that of *Sabellius*; not out of any Dislike to *Sabellianism*, but only to oppose the Bishop. He was of a perverse and contentious Humour, and one that had too good an Opinion of his own Abilities. When *Alexander* gravely taught his Clergy, that there was an Unity in the *Trinity*, or, that the same numerical Godhead was in every one of three Persons of the Holy *Trinity*; what Lover of Truth and Peace would have excepted against it? And yet *Arius* a nimble sharp *Disputant*, flew in the Face of the Bishop; and meerly out of a Spirit of Opposition, confronts his Assertion of an Unity in the *Trinity*: And from thence draws a Conclusion that was very remote and unnatural. For (according to *Socrates*) *Arius* argued thus: "If the Father begot the Son, he that was begotten, hath a Beginning of his Existence: And there was a time when the Son was not, and by necessary Consequence, he must derive his Existence from nothing. This was the Form and Matter of *Arius's* Argumentation, as *Socrates* relates it; which I leave the Logician to examine, only to observe, that this was no *extempore* or occasional

casional Objection, brought by *Arius* against what had been discoursed by the Bishop; but the very Judgment and Thought which he had concerning the second Person in the *Trinity*, whom he held was not from Eternity, but took his being in Time, and was made of nothing, as will appear in the Sequel of this Discourse.

Now to shew that *Arius* did not draw his Conclusion only by way of Argument, but that it was his fix'd and resolute Opinion, he presently began to make Profelytes, and to excite many to be of his Judgment: Among whom, some think the first and chief was *Eusebius*, who had formerly been Bishop of the Church of *Berytus*; but was surreptitiously crept into the Bishoprick of *Nicomedia* in *Bitthynia*: And from this Spark (saith the Historian) was kindled a great Fire, many patronizing *Arius's* Heresie, and appearing in its Maintenance and Defence.

Alexander hearing and seeing what was done, became highly incens'd, and having conven'd a Council of many Bishops, he degraded *Arius* as an Heretick, and those that embrac'd his Opinion; and gave the Bishops of every City an Account of his Proceedings in a circular Letter; a Copy whereof as it stands in *Socrates*, now follows.

A Copy of the Letter written by Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, to his Fellow-Bishops, concerning the degrading of Arius.

To our well-beloved and dearest Fellow-Ministers of the Catholick Church, in all Places, *Alexander* wishes Health in the Lord.

WHereas there is one Body of the Catholick Church; and it is commanded in the holy Scriptures that we should keep the Bond of Peace and Concord, it is requisite that we should write and inform one another of what things are done among us; to the end, that if one Member suffer, or rejoyce, we may either joyntly rejoyce, or suffer together.

In our Diocess, therefore there are lately started up Men that are impious and Enemies of Christ, who teach such Apostacy, as one may judge, and justly term the Fore-runner of Antichrist, which I would most gladly have buried in Silence, that the Mischief might have been consumed, by being included among the Apostates only, lest haply by its further Progress into other Places, it should have infected the Hearers of the Simple.

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But because Eusebius, now Bishop of Nicomedia, supposing that the Affairs are wholly at his Dispose (in Regard, that having deserted the Church of Berytus, he has sordidly coveted that of Nicomedia, and has not been prosecuted by any) does patronize even these Apostates, and has boldly attempted to write Letters up and down in Commendation of them, that thereby he might seduce some Ignorant Persons into this worst Heresie and most displeasing to Christ.

I thought it therefore necessary, being sensible of what is written in the Law, to be no longer silent, but to give you all Notice, that you might know who are the Apostates, and likewise the detestable Expressions of their Heresie, and that if Eusebius write to you, you should give no Heed to him: For he is now desirous to renew his former Malevolence, which seem'd to have been silenced and forgot by Length of Time, and pretends to write Letters in their Behalf: But in Reality he declares that he uses his Utmost to do this upon his own Account.

Now the Names of those that are turned Apostates, are these, Arius, Achilles, Aithales Carpones; Another Arius, Sarmates, Euzo-
 ius, Lucius, Julianus, Menas, Helladius, Gaius, Secundus also and Theonas; who were sometimes Bishops: And the Tenets which they have invented and maintain'd, contrary to be

the Authority of Scripture, are these following; viz. God (they say) was not alway a Father; but there was a Time when God was not a Father. The Word of God was not from everlasting; but had his Beginning from Nothing: For God who is, made him who was not, of Nothing. Therefore there was a Time when he was not: For the Son is a Creature, and Work: Neither is like to the Father, as to his Essence; nor is he by Nature the genuine Word of the Father, nor his true Wisdom: But he is one of his Works, and one of his Creatures, and is only improperly stiled The Word and the Wisdom: For he himself exists by the proper Word of God, and by the Wisdom that is in God, by which God made all things, and him also: Wherefore he is by Nature mutable, and subject to Change, as well as all other reasonable Beings: So that the Word is different, disagreeable and separate from the Essence of God; and the Father cannot be declared or set forth by the Son, and is invisible to him: For the Son does not perfectly and accurately know the Father; neither can he perfectly behold him: For the Son knows not his own Essence what it is: For our sakes he was made, that God might make use of him as an Instrument in order to our Creation; nor had he ever existed, had it not pleased God to create us.

In this Heap of Blasphemies are summ'd up the Dogmata of Arius and his Sectaries: And

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when one ask'd them, if the Word of God could be chang'd, as the Devil was, they were not afraid to answer, that he might; because he is (said they) of a Nature subject to Change, in that he is begotten and created.

We, therefore, with the Bishops of Egypt and Lybia, near an hundred in Number, being met together, have Excommunicated Arius for these his Principles, and for his impudent Assertion of them, together with all his Adherents: But Eusebius has given them Entertainment, endeavouring to mix Falshood with Truth, and Impiety with Godliness: But he shall not prevail: For Truth getteth the Victory; and Light has no Communion with Darknes; nor hath Christ any Agreement with Belial. For who ever heard the like? or what Man, if he should now hear them, would not be amaz'd thereat, and stop his Ears, lest the Filth of those Doctrines should penetrate and infect them?

What Man is he, who when he hears these Words of Saint John, In the Beginning was the Word, will not condemn those that affirm There was a Time when the Word was not? Or who is the Man that hears these Words of the Gospel, The only begotten Son, and by him all things were made, will not abominate these Men, that say, the Son is one of the Creatures? But how can he be one of those Things that were made by him? Or, how can

be be term'd The only Begotten, who (according to the Sentiments of Arius) is reckon'd among all the other Creatures? How can he be made of Nothing, when as the Father himself saith, my Heart hath indited a good Matter: And, before the Morning, I have begotten thee in the Morning? Or, how can he be unlike the Father in Essence, when as he is the perfect Image and the Brightness of the Father; and when, as he himself testifieth, he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father? Now if the Son be the Word and Wisdom of the Father, how can there be a Time when he was not? For it is the same Absurdity as if they should say, There was a Time when God was without both his Word and Wisdom. How can he be mutable and subject to Change, who says concerning himself, I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and I and the Father are one? I spake also by the Prophet, behold me, for I am the Lord, and am not changed: And tho' some may say, that this was spoken in Reference to the Father, yet it will be more accommodate to understand it now to be spoken in Relation to the Word; because altho' he became Man, yet was he not chang'd; but as the Apostle says, Jesus Christ the same Yesterday, and to Day, and for ever. But what Motive could they have to say, that he was made for us, when as Paul saith, for him are all things, and by him are, all things?

But concerning their Blasphemy in affirming that the Son doth not perfectly know the Father, it ought not to be wondred at: For having oncere-solv'd to fight against Christ, they despise even the Words of the Lord himself; who says, as the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father. If therefore the Father knoweth the Son only in Part, it is manifest, that the Son also knoweth the Father only in part: But if it be impious to assert this, and if the Father knoweth the Son perfectly, it is perspicuous, that as the Father knoweth his own Word, so doth the Word know his own Father, whose Word he is.

By asserting of these things, and explaining the sacred Scriptures, we have frequently confuted them: But they, like Chamæ lions, have again been chang'd, pertinaciously contending to appropriate to themselves this that is written: When the Impious is arrived at the very Extreame of Wickedness he despiseth. There have indeed been many Heresies before these Persons, which by their too much Audaciousness have fallen into Imprudence and Folly: But these Men, who by all their Discourses, attempt nothing less than the Subversion of the Divinity of the Word, have to the utmost of their Power, made those preceding Heresies to be accounted just, in regard they approach nearer to Antichrist: Wherefore they are expell'd out of the Church, and anathematiz'd.

We are really troubl'd at the Destruction of these

these Men, and the rather because they were heretofore instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, but have now renounc'd it : Yet we do not look upon this as so strange a Thing : For the same befell Hymenæus and Philetus, and before them, Judas ; who tho' he had been our Saviour's Disciple, yet was afterwards his Betrayer and an Apostate. Neither have we continu'd unadvis'd of these very Persons : For our Lord hath foretold, Take heed that no Man deceive you : For many shall come in my Name, saying, I am Christ : And the time draweth near, and they shall deceive many : Go ye not therefore after them. And Paul having learn'd these things from our Saviour, wrote thus ; That in the latter Days, some shall depart from the sound Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits and Doctrines of Devils, who detest the Truth. Since therefore our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath himself commanded this, and also by his Apostle has given us Intimation concerning these, we being Eye-witnesses of their Impiety, have deservedly anathematiz'd them, as we said before and openly declar'd them estrang'd from the Catholick Church and Faith.

Moreover we have signified thus much to your Piety, (Beloved and dearest Fellow-Ministers) that if any of them should have the Confidence to come to you, you might not entertain them, and

that you should not be persuaded to believe Eusebius, or any one else that shall write to you concerning them: For it is our Duty, as we are Christians, to detest all those that speak or devise any thing against Christ, and to look upon them as the Enemies of God, and the Corrupters of Souls, and not to say to such Men, so much as God speed, lest we become Partakers of their Iniquities (as St. John has commanded us) salute the Brethren that are with you; they that are with us, salute you.

Alexander having writ after this Manner to all the Bishops in every City, the Acceptance of his Letters was very different: Those of his Opinion receiv'd them with great Respect, and readily subscrib'd to their Contents, praising his Zeal and Conduct in so important an Affair: But others did the quite contrary, scoffing at and ridiculing what he writ; and instead of being thereby stir'd up to Peace, they began to be enflam'd with a pertinacious Desire of Contention: So that as Socrates observes, the Mischief grew worse, and the Disease was encreas'd by the Misapplication of the Remedy, design'd to cure it. Eusebius of Nicomedia appear'd most concerned at Alexander's Letter, as finding himself therein mention'd by Name, and not with-

without a particular Mark of Reproach. *Constantine* at the same time kept his Residence at *Nicomedia* in the Palace which *Dioclesian* had built there; which gave *Eusebius* an Opportunity of making an Interest in him; And being a smooth subtle Courtier, he quickly gain'd his Point and grew very gracious with the Emperour; which the Court-Bishops observing, they became very obsequious to *Eusebius*, who writ frequently to *Alexander*, advising him to suppress the Controversie, and to restore *Arius* and his Adherents to the Peace of the Church. He wrote likewise to Bishops of every particular City, that they should not consent to *Alexander*. This occasion'd great Animosities, and fill'd all Places with Tumults and Disturbances; and not only the Prelates of the Church, but the Populace also were miserably divided, some inclining to one Party, and some to another; and the Matter at length came to that Height of Indignity and Insolence, that the Christian Religion was made the Ridicule in the publick Theatres. *Eusebius* still press'd *Alexander* to abrogate the Sentence of Excommunication that had been pronounc'd against *Arius* and his Party, and to re-admit them into the Church, alledging that they asserted nothing that was perverse and

and impious. On the other Hand, those who look'd upon the Opinion of *Arius* as absurd and blasphemous, approv'd of *Alexander's* Proceedings, maintaining the Condemnation of *Arius*, and of all that favour'd his Heresie, to be just and equitable, and that his Sentence ought not to be repealed.

Many Letters from both the disagreeing Parties having been sent to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, there was a Collection made of them. *Arius* collected those that were written in his Behalf, and *Alexander* those that were writ against him: And by this Example, all other Sects took Occasion of defending their own Heterodox Opinions, each quoting the Epistles of their own Party that had been written in Confirmation of them.

Constantine having Notice of these things, was greatly troubled, and look'd upon this calamitous State of the Church as if it had been his own; and it did not a little perplex his Mind, that that Tranquillity he had provided for the Christians, should be disturbed by themselves: And foreseeing that the Mischiefs of these Contentions, if let alone, would daily grow worse, he instantly made it his Business to suppress them. To this End, he sent *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* in
Spain,

Spain, a Person of approved Fidelity, and one for whom the Emperour had a particular Kindness and Esteem, with Letters to *Alexander* and *Arius*. In these Letters the Emperour sets down the Ground of the Controversie; and beginning with *Alexander*, he reproves him for enquiring of his Presbyters what every Man's Opinion was, concerning a Point which he called a fruitless Controversie: Next he blames *Arius* for his inconsiderate venting such Sentiments as he ought either not to have conceiv'd at all, or if he had had such Conceptions, yet it was his Duty not to have divulg'd them; but to have buried them in Silence. He told them how that by their Dissention, Communion was refused; and that the most religious Populace was rent into two Factions, and separated from the harmonious Unity of the whole Body; and upon this Consideration, he advises them mutually to pardon each other, and quietly to accept of what he as their Fellow-Servant, did lovingly counsel them. He tells the Bishop that he ought not to have propounded the Question which first occasioned the Dispute; and he told the Heretic, that he ought not to have been so forward in returning an Answer. Such Questions (saith the Emperour) as no
Law

Law does necessarily limit or prescribe, but are propos'd by Contentiousness, and unprofitable Want of Business (altho' they may be fram'd to exercise and employ our natural Parts) yet they ought to be confin'd within our Breasts, and not to be inconsiderately divulg'd in publick Assemblies, nor unadvisedly committed to the Cares of the Vulgar: For what Person amongst a thousand is sufficiently qualified either accurately to comprehend the full Efficacy and Nature of things so sublime and profound, or, to explain them according to their Dignity and Importance? Or if any should look upon this to be an easie Performance, yet how small a Number of Vulgar will be induc'd to be fully persuaded thereof? Besides, a Man of Prudence will not venture upon the accurate Discussion of such nice Controversies, for fear he should fall into gross Errors.

In Questions of this Nature (saith the Emperour) Loquacity must be bridled, and the multiplying of Words restrained; lest thro' our own Inability to explain such absolute Points; or thro' the Slowness of the Auditors understanding clearly to comprehend what we discourse, they should unhappily fall into Blasphemy and Schism.

Where-

Wherefore *Constantine* would have an unwary Question, and an inconsiderate Answer by both of them to be mutually forgiven. The Contest (as he tells them) was not kindled upon Occasion of any principal or chief Commandment of our Law: Neither had they introduc'd any new Heresie concerning the Worship of God: But that they both held one and the same Opinion: So that they might easily close in a Consent of Communion with each other. But whilst they pertinaciously contended about things of inferiour Moment, it was not convenient that so great Numbers of God's People should be under their Care and Government, lest thro' their Dissention they should be mis-led as looking upon it, not only as undecent, but also unlawful.

And the Emperour inforces his Advice to Peace by the Example of the Philosophers, who albeit they frequently disagree in some Part of their Assertions, and jar about the very Perfection of Knowledge yet because they are all united, and agree in the Profession of one and the same Sect, they do again close in mutual Consent.

Now if it be so amongst Philosophers, it will certainly be much more reasonable
that

that those who are Ministers of the most high God, should in like manner be unanimous in the Profession of the same Religion.

Can you think it to be just and equitable, that by Reason of your pertinacious Contrasts about Words, Brethren should be set in Array against Brethren, and that that venerable Assembly (meaning either the Council or the Church) should upon your Account who contend with one another about things slight, and no way necessary, be rent in sunder by an impious Variance? These your Contests (saith the Emperour) are poor and mean, fitter for a childish Ignorance, than the Gravity of Priests and the Wisdom of prudent Men. Be content to depart from the Temptations of Satan: And consider that our great God, the Saviour of all Men, hath reached forth a Light, common to all. By the Assistance of whose Providence, give us Leave who are his Servants, successfully to finish this our Endeavour, that by our Exhortation, Diligence and earnest Admonitions, we may reduce you to Unity, and bring you back to the same Communion: For seeing you hold the same Faith, and have the same Sentiments of Religion: And seeing the Commandment of the Law doth

doth in all its Parts enclose all in general in one Consent and Purpose of Mind, let not this thing that has rais'd a mutual Division betwixt you in a Point not appertaining to the Power and Efficacy of Religion in general, by any Means make a Separation and Faction amongst you.

We speak these things (saith the Emperour) not to force you to be all of one Opinion concerning this idle foolish Controversie, of what soever it be: For the precious Value of the Assembly may be preserved entire amongst you; and one of the same Communion may be retain'd, altho' there may be amongst you a great Diversity of Sentiments in things of smaller Significancy: For we don't all mean the same in all things; neither is there one Disposition or Opinion in us all. Concerning the divine Providence; let there be among you one Faith, one Meaning and one Covenant of the Deity. But as for these slender and light Questions, which with so much Niceness you dispute of, and with too great Curiosity enquire into, tho' you are not therein of the same Mind, but disagree in Opinion, yet it's your Duty to confine them to your own Thoughts, and to keep them to your selves. And upon this Consideration, he exhorts them

to common Friendship, to a cordial Belief of the Truth, to promote the Honour of God, and to a Religious Observance of the Law; that they would let those things remain firm and inviolable amongst them, that they would return to mutual Amity and Charity, and to restore to the whole Body of the People their mutual amicable Embraces, that the Contenders would purifie their own Souls, be again acquainted, and renew their Familiarity one with another, and to revolve with themselves how that Friendship is often more sweet and pleasant after the Occasion of the Enmity is laid aside, and Men return again to Reconciliation.

The Emperour having thus press'd *Alexander* and *Arius* to mutual Friendship, and to put away their Contentions as being hurtful to themselves and the Church, he likewise exhorts them to do this for the Emperour's Sake, that his Days thereby might be peaceable, and his Nights void of Sollicitude, that during the Residue of his Life he might have the Pleasure of a pure Light, and the Joy of a quiet Life reserved for him; and that if he miss'd of this, he must necessarily be griev'd, and testifie the same with Tears: For whilst he beheld the People rent asunder by the

the pernicious and indiscreet Dissention of a Bishop and a Presbyter, and engag'd in their undecent and untimely Quarrel, he tells them he could not continue in a sedate Temper of Mind, nor finish his Life without great Disquietude : And that they might be the more sensible of his great Sorrow and deep Resentment for their Divisions, he further tells them, that it had put by his Journey, which upon his coming to *Nicomedia*, he had resolved to make into the East : And that whilst he was hastening towards them, and had perform'd above half his Journey, the News of their Discord quite alter'd his Resolution, lest he should be a Spectator of those things which he could not endure so much as to hear of. And the pious *Constantine* closes his Letter to *Alexander* and *Arius* in these affectionate Words ; “ Do you by your Unanimity for the future, open a Way for us into the East, which by your Discord you have stop't up Give me Leave with Joy speedily to see you and all the rest of the People, and that with an unanimous Consent of Praises we may offer up (τῷ Κεϊνῷ) to God Thanks for publick Unity, Agreement, Liberty and Concord.

Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus having sent this Letter to *Alexander* and *Arius*, when the Contents of it came to be fully considered, it was shrewdly suspected that *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* had a Hand in the Contrivance of it, if it was not wholly compil'd by him: And the Circumstances favouring this Conjecture, were, first, the great Credit *Eusebius* gain'd with the Emperor now residing at *Nicomedia*; by Means of which he was able, as he did, to impose upon him in this whole Affair. Next, the Scope of the Letter is exactly agreeable with the Carriage of *Eusebius* in this Controversie, which was, not to have it determin'd either Way; but only silenc'd as an over-curious Speculation: And as for those Lessenings, which through the whole Letter are given of this Heresie, they seem to have been the crafty Insinuations of *Alexander's* Want of Temper and Prudence in raising so great a Dust, and making so much ado in so trivial and light a Matter.

Eusebius (as all observe of him) was a Man of a prou'd Spirit, impatient of Contradiction, very vindictive, and cou'd not brook *Alexander's* Carriage towards him: And the Hatred he bore him for his reproachful naming him in his circular Letter, made him favour *Arius* as he was *Alexander's* Enemy,
and

and not out of any good Liking. he had for his Heresie: For the *Eusebius* is on all Hands represented as a Ring-Leader of the *Arian* Faction, yet this is a Mistake that has brought Confusion upon the whole History, and made the *Arian* Heresie to seem of much greater Extent than it was: Whereas *Eusebius* and his Party were no less adverse to the *Arians* than to the Orthodox; and yet it was they that all along made the greatest Shew and Noise in the Contest: All which seems to have had no other Source than meerly their Hatred to *Alexander*, and the Delight they took to oppose him.

The Emperour having, as he thought, by this Letter, made Provision for the ending of the Controversie, and reconciling those to each other, by whom it was first raised; and the good Man *Hosius* who carried it, having used likewise his utmost Diligence that the same Letter shou'd take Effect, yet all was to no Purpose: For the Contention of the disagreeing Parties was so far from being compromis'd, that it daily encreas'd and grew up so fast, that in a short time it over-ran all the Eastern Provinces: For Envy and the malicious Devil being vex'd at the Prosperity of the Church, invented these things for our

Destruction, as *Eusebius* writes *de Vita Const.*
li. 3. Ch. 73. But neither *Alexander* nor
Arius were in the least mollified; either by
 the Emperour's Letter, or the excellent
 Arguments for their mutual Agreement,
 urged by the holy Man that brought in.
 At the time when this Epistle was sent, the
 Disputes about the Feast of *Easter* were very
 warm, and the Division arising thereupon
 very threatening. Some contended that
 the Celebration of that Festival shou'd be
 kept after the *Jewish* Manner; others in
 their Solemnization thereof imitated the
 Custom of the Christians all over the World.
 But it was very happy this Controversie
 happened only in the East, and that it
 created no Separation, but that the ad-
 verse Parties still continu'd united in the
 same Communion. For tho' the Joy and
 Glory of the Festival was much clouded,
 and impaired by the Controversies held about
 it, yet mutual Communion was still preserv-
 ed. But *Constantine* observing the great Di-
 sturbance that the Church suffered by Rea-
 son of this and the other Controversie,
 began to think of a Remedy for them
 both. He had already seen that his Let-
 ters were ineffectual to this Purpose, and
 that the Minds of the Contenders were
 so imbittered one against another, that Ex-
 hortations

hortations to mutual Peace and good Will, had little other Effect than to enrage and enflame them the more. He therefore thought of a general Council, as the likeliest Cure for such Distempers. *Nice*, a City of *Bithynia*, was the Place where he determined the Council shou'd be held: And hither by his Letters he requests the Bishops to repair; who readily comply'd with his royal Request: For (as *Eusebius* in the third Book of *Constantine* writes) the most eminent amongst God's Ministers of the Churches in *Europe*, *Lybia* and *Asia*, were conven'd: And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as it were by God, included at the same time within its Walls, *Sirians*, *Silesians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabians*, *Palestinians*, *Egyptians*, *Thebæans*, *Lybians*, and those that came out of *Mesopotamia*. There was also at the Synod a *Persian* and a *Scythian*: *Pontus* also and *Galatia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia* and *Phrygia* afforded their most select Divines. Moreover there appeared at *Nice*, *Thracians*, *Macedonians*, *Achæans* and *Epirots*. And many who dwelt far beyond these, were there also present. *Hosius* the *Spaniard*, famous for his Piety, together with many of his Country-men, sat in the Council. The Prelate of the Imperial City was absent by reason of his Age; but his Presbyters were there, and supply'd his Place. The

The Emperour (saith the Historiographer) was the only Person of all the Princes since the Foundation of the World, who having platted such a Crown as this with the Bond of Peace, dedicated it to Christ his Saviour, as a Divine Present and Acknowledgment of the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies. And he intended the Synod shou'd be constituted to be a lively Representation of an Apostolical Quire. That it might be now as it was in the Days of the Apostles when devout Men of all Nations under Heaven were gathered together. In this Council the Number of the Bishops exceeded Three Hundred: But the Presbyters, Deacons, *Acoluthi*, and the many other Persons that accompanied them, were almost innumerable. Of these Ministers of God, some were eminent for their Wisdom and Eloquence; others for their sober and discreet Lives; others for their patient Sufferings, and others were adorned with Modesty and courteous Behaviour. Some of them were highly respected for their great Age; others were eminent for their youthful Vigour both of Body and Mind; some were newly initiated into the Order of the Ministry. To all these the Emperour commanded a plentiful Provision of Food to be daily allowed.

Paphnusius and *Spiridion* were the most eminent among the Bishops. There were also present a great many Laicks, Men skill'd in Logick, ready to assist each their own Party. *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis*, Bishop of *Nice*, and *Marius* Bishop of *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia* were the chief that favoured *Arius*; against whom *Athanasius* contend-
ed vigourously, and express'd a signal Zeal and Depth in his Disputes; which brought upon him the implacable Hatred of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*. A little before the Bishops were met together in one Place, the Logicians exercised themselves in some skirmishing Disputes; and seeming therewith to be over-much delighted, a Laick, one that was a Confessour, an honest well-meaning Man, oppos'd these Disputants, and told 'em, That neither Christ nor his Apostles taught or used the Art of Disputing, nor vain Subtilties or Fallacies, but a plain Doctrin, which is to be defended by Faith and good Works. All that stood by, hearing him speak these Words, admired him, and approved of what he said: And the Logicians themselves hearing this honest and plain Declaration of the Truth, did patiently acquiesce, and the Tumult, raised by Disputation, was compos'd.

The next Day after the Logick Disputes were so happily concluded, all the Bishops were conven'd, after whom came the Emperour, whose Respect and Reverence was so great to the Clergy, that he stood in the midst of them, and wou'd not take his Seat, till such time as the Bishops signified that it was their Desire that he wou'd sit down and take the Chair of State; which he did, and from thence spoke to the Synod in kind persuasive Words; exhorting em to Unanimity and Concord, and to suppress all private Piques and Animosities, and those Accusations which they had fram'd one against another: For many, the Day before, had presented Libels to the Emperour containing several Articles of Personal Miscarriages, favouring more of a Desire of Revenge than of Reformation. These accusatory Libels the Emperour commanded to be burn'd, and advis'd them to consider and obey what Christ had enjoyn'd concerning forgiving one another: And having largely discoursed of the Nature and Advantages of Concord and Peace, he bid em proceed to the Business before em, for which they were conven'd, leaving it to their Power and Arbitrement accurately to inspect the Points in Controversie. Upon this the Council entred upon the Affair,

fair, and many Questions were proposed by both Parties, which caused great Stirs and Heats before they came to the main Debate. *Constantine* all the while heard 'em very patiently, and with an intent Mind received their proposed Questions, and by turns assisted the Assertions of both Parties, and by Degrees he reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate Temper of Mind; and by his gracious Speeches to each Person, he rendered himself pleasing and delightful. Some he brought to be of his Opinion by the Force of his Arguments; others he gained over to him by Condescensions and Entreaties. He commended those that spoke well, and whom he observed to be less peaceably enclined, he excited to Quietness, and conjur'd all to an Agreement: And by his prudent and temperate Manage, he at length made 'em all of the same Mind in the Matters concerning which they had before disagreed: So that after many Debates upon the Subject before 'em, Three Hundred and Eighteen Bishops concurr'd in a Creed, which with loud Acclamations they published and approv'd of. A Copy of which Creed, as it stands recorded by *Socrates Scholasticus*, Lib. 1. C. 8. *Hist. Eccl.* now follows.

We

WE believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible, and our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only Begotten, that is of the Substance of the Father, God of God and Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of the same Substance with the Father, by whom all things were made that are in Heaven and in Earth: Who for the sake of us Men, and for our Salvation, descended, and was incarnate, and was made Man, and he suffered and rose again the third Day, ascended into the Heavens, he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. We also believe in the Holy Ghost. But the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church doth anathematize those that aberr, That there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that he was not before he was begotten, and that he was made of Nothing: Or, that say he was made of another Substance or Essence: Or, that he is either created, or convertible, or mutable.

This Creed (as *Valesius* observes) is wanting in all the *Mss.* he had met with, and saith that *Christopher* did very well in placing it here in *Socrates*: For it is plain, both from *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, as also by those

following Words, *καὶ τὸν υἱόν*, that it was placed here by the Historian himself. But all the MSS. did omit it in this Place, because it's repeated a little after in *Eusebius Pamphilus's* Epistle, *καὶ τὸν υἱόν*. Then this very Creed above repeated, was subscribed by Three Hundred and Eighteen Bishops, who were all unanimous in their Suffrages and Sentiments concerning it. *Socrates* writes, that Five Bishops refus'd to allow of it. But *Theodoret*, and before him *Hierom*, (in his Dialogue against the *Luciferians*) affirm, that *Secundus* and *Theonas* were the only two Bishops that were Dissenters, refusing to subscribe to the *Nicene* Creed. *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, with four Bishops more, dislik'd the Word *Homoousios*, which they did upon Supposal that only that can be said to be *Homoousion*, of the same Substance which is from another; either by Partition, as two or three Pieces of Gold the whole Mass; or, by Derivation, as Children from their Parents; or, by Eruption, as a Branch from the Root. But seeing that the Son of God could by none of these Ways be from the Father, they cou'd not therefore give Consent to this Draught of the Creed, in which the Word *Homoousios* was used. Great and tedious were the Cavils and Debates about this one Word *Homoousios*, which

which *Eusebius* and his Party would by no Means admit of; and because it was not eras'd out of the Creed, they refused to subscribe the Degradation of *Arius*; which Obstinacy of theirs mov'd the Synod to anathematize *Arius* and all of his Opinion; forbidding *Arius* in particular to enter into *Alexandria*. The Emperour also by his Edict, banish'd *Arius*, *Eusebius* and *Theognis*: But the two latter soon after their Exile repented of their Contumacy, and sent their penitentiary Libels to the most eminent Bishops; and in these Libels they declared their Assent to the Word *Homoousios*, and their Belief of it as it was used in the Creed, and in every thing agreed to the Exposition of the Faith: And upon their doing this they were by Imperial Order recalled from Banishment, and restored to their own Churches.

At the same time, *Eusebius*, surnamed *Pamphilus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, having made some Hesitancy in the Synod, whether he might safely admit of this Form of Faith; having taken time maturely to consider what in this Case he might with a safe Conscience and a satisfied Reason, conclude, he at length gave his Assent, and subscribed. And lest any of the People of his Diocess shou'd be offended at his Backwardness

wardness in subscribing the Creed, and have an Ill Opinion of him for scrupling the Use of the Word *Homoousion*, he sent a Letter unto them, wherein he explained that Term, and apologiz'd for his Hesitancy.

Eusebius Pamphilus's Letter to those of his Diocess.

IT is very probable (Beloved) that you may have heard what hath been done concerning the Ecclesiastick Faith in the great Council conven'd at Nice, and in Regard that Reports doth usually out-run an accurate Narrative of the Matters transacted, lest by such a bare Report, the Matter might be represented to you otherwise than really it is, we thought it requisite to send to you, first, the Form of Faith which we our selves proposed to the Council; and likewise that other published by the Bishops, who made some Additions to ours. That Form of Faith drawn up by us, we read in the Presence of our most pious Emperour; and it appeared to all to be sound and Orthodox, and is as follows.

We

We beleeve in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, the first born of every Creature begotten of God the Father before all Worlds, by whom also all things were made, who for our Salvation was incarnate and conversed among Men; who suffered and rose again the third Day; he ascended unto the Father, and shall come again in Glory to judge the Quick and the Dead.

We also beleeve in the Holy Ghost: we beleeve that each of these Persons is, and doth subsist: That the Father is truly the Father, the Son really the Son, and the Holy Ghost really the Holy Ghost: As our Lord also when he sent his Disciples out to preach, said, Go ye, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Concerning which Articles, we do avow, that we thus maintain and hold them, that these are our Sentiments of them, that this was our Opinion formerly, that this Opinion we will retain till Death, that we will persevere in this Belief, and anathematize every impious Heresie: We call God Almighty and

Jesus

Jesus Christ our Lord to Witness, that these were sincerely and heartily our Sentiments ever since we were capable of knowing our selves: And that we do now speak and think what is most true, and we are ready to demonstrate to you by most infallible Proofs and to persuade you, that both in times past, we thus believed and likewise thus preached.

Eusebius Pamphilus having given the People of his Diocess this Account of the Creed which he proposed to the Council, he farther tells 'em, That there was no body could oppose it: That the Emperour did attest its Truth, protesting that he was of the same Opinion, and exhorted all to assent to, and subscribe it, and unanimously to agree in the Profession of it. Only he desired that the Word *Homousios* might be inserted; tho' others with greater Probability affirm, that that Word was added by the Bishops, and that the Emperour explained it, saying, that he supposed that the Word *Homousios* was not to be taken in such a Sense as is agreeable to the Affections of the Body and therefore that the Son had not his Subsistence from the Father, either by Division or Abscission: For it is impossible (saith he) that an immaterial intelle-
Actual

4 *An Historical Account of the Heresie*

etual and incorporeal Nature shou'd be subject to any corporeal Affection: But that our Sentiments of such things should be expressed in Divine and Mysterious Terms.

The Emperour having thus Philosophized upon the Word *Homoousius*, the Bishops drew up another Form of Belief, in which they inserted that *Word*; but in all other things it was the same with the first. Now that the Form of Faith was agreed upon by the Bishops, *Eusebius Caesarienses* gravely and maturely enquired of them What they meant by these Words, [Of the Substance of the Father, and of the same Substance with the Father;] Which gave Occasion to many Questions and Answers, and to an accurate Examination of the Importance of the Words. And at last it was acknowledged by the Bishops that these Words, *To be of the Substance* did only signifie thus much: That the Son is of the Father, but not as a Part of the Father. To which Sense of the Words *Eusebius Caesariensis* thought it both reasonable and safe to give his Assent: And having Peace before his Eyes, as the Mark at which he aim'd, and being cautious lest he should fall from a right Apprehension of the Faith, he also admitted of the Words *Begotten not made*,
for

For *Made* (said the Fathers) is a common Term attributed to all other Creatures which were made by the Son, of whom the Son hath no Resemblance. Wherefore he is no Creature like those which were created by him; but he is of a far more excellent Substance than any Creature: Which Substance is begotten of the Father, but in such a Manner of Generation as is ineffable and inexpressible by any created Being: For, his Generation, who shall be able to declare? Who can express how he was eternally begotten? Who can explain or set forth his Divine Extraction? No Man knoweth the Son but the Father. That Light that shone before the World, that Intellectual and Essential Wisdom that was before all Ages, the living God; the Word who was in the Beginning with the Father, who, but the Father alone can clearly and perfectly comprehend? The Proposition that saith, The Son is of the same Substance with the Father, being also discuss'd; *Eusebius Cæs.* declared, that it was not to be understood according to the manner of Bodies, nor in a Sense agreeable to mortal Creatures: For this Constanciality, said he, cannot be either by the Division of Substance, or Abscission or Change of the paternal Essence and Power: For all these things are inconsistent

with the uncreated Nature of the Father. But this Proposition, To be of the same Substance with the Father, signifies no more, than that the Son of God hath no Communiry with, nor Resemblance to created Beings; but that in every Respect he is like to the Father only, who hath begotten him; and that he does exist of no other Substance or Essence, but of the Father.

To this Opinion thus explained, *Eusebius* gave his Assent: And he was the more inclinable to do this, because that he knew some of the Ancient Learned and Eminent Bishops and Writers had used the Term *Homousios* in their Explanations of the Divinity of the Father and of the Son.

And *Eusebius Pamphilus* having said thus much concerning the Creed published at *Nice*, the Historian observes, that the Bishops did not hastily, but with deep Consideration and mature Examining, agree unto it, and that every Man's Sense was fairly discuss'd before the Emperour, and that their Consents to what was concluded, was free and unanimous. As to the Anathematism published by the Fathers after the Creed, the same was lik'd by *Eusebius*, in regard it did prohibit the Use of Terms that occur not in the Scriptures. From the use of which Terms came almost all the Confusion and
Distur-

Disturbance that had been raised in the Church : And since no Part of the Scripture, given by Divine Inspiration has made use of these *Arian* Terms, viz. of Things which exist not : And there was a time when he was not : It was concluded as a thing agreeable to Reason, that these things should neither be mentioned nor taught ; which *Eusebius* calls a good and sound Determination ; and saith, that in former Times no such Expressions were made use of ; so that they were the Invention of the Heretick *Arius*, and first used by him.

Eusebius having given the People of his Diocess this Account of his Backwardness in consenting to the Creed drawn up, and formed by the *Nicene* Fathers, and of his final Agreement with them ; All things were happily concluded, and the Holy Synod decreed to send an Epistle to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to the Inhabitants of *Agypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, and therein to acquaint them with the Matters determined by the Synod ; and how they had degraded *Arius*, and all those who embraced his Opinion. A Copy of which Letter is, as now follows.

The Synodical Epistle.

To the Holy and great Church of the *Alexandrians*, and to our Beloved Brethren the Inhabitants of *Egypt, Libya* and *Pentapolis*; the Bishops assembled at *Nice*, who fill up that Great and Holy Synod, send Greeting in the Lord.

FOrasmuch as by the Grace of God and (the Summons) of the pious Emperour *Constantine* (who has call'd us together out of divers Cities and Provinces,) a Great and Holy Synod has been conven'd at *Nice*, it seem'd altogether necessary, that a Letter should be written unto you in the Name of the Sacred Synod, whereby you might understand what things were there proposed, and what taken into Examination, as also what were decreed and establish'd.

First of all therefore, the Impiety and Iniquity of *Arius* and his Complices, was enquir'd into, in the Presence of the most pious Emperour *Constantine*, and the Council's Determination (which was confirm'd by the Suffrages of all) was, that his impious Opinion and execrable Terms and Names, should be anathematiz'd, which he blasphemously us'd, affirming that the Son of God had his Being of Nothing, and that there was a time when he was not; as also saying that the Son of
God

God had a Freedom of Will, whereby he was capable of Vertue or Vice; and calls him a Creature and a Work. All these Tenets the Holy Synod hath anathematiz'd, not enduring so much as patiently to bear this impious Opinion, or rather Madness, and these blasphemous Expressions.

But what Issue these Proceedings against them are arriv'd at, you have either heard already, or will hear; lest we should insult over a Man who hath receiv'd a condign Recompence for his own Wickedness. But his Impiety was grown so prevalent, that he drew into the same Pit of Perdition, Theonas, Bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus, Bishop of Ptolemais: For the same Sentence that had been given against him, was pronounc'd against them.

Thus far the Synodical Letter respects the Synod's Proceeding against Arius: The Residue of the Letter concerns Melitus, and those that by him had been admitted into Holy Orders. It pleas'd the Synod to use Gentleness toward Melitus, and not to treat him according to the strictest Sense and Rigour of the Law: For they suffer'd him to continue in the City, but to have no Jurisdiction, nor to ordain nor to propose the Names of those that were to be ordained, or to appear in any Village or City upon this Pretence; but that he should barely enjoy

his Appellation and Title. But to return to the Synodical Epistle: Wherein it evidently appears, that the *Nicene* Fathers did not only anathematize *Arius* and his Followers, but also the very Terms of his Opinion. They also condemned his Book entitled *Thalia*, which he writ in Defence of his Heresie. The Doctrine contain'd in that Book, was loose and dissolute, much resembling (saith *Socrates Scholasticus*) the Songs and Verses of *Sotades*, the *Maronite*, an obscene Greek Poet. This *Thalia* written by *Arius*, *Athanasius* takes Notice of in his Second Oration against the *Arians*.

Nor was the Synod only solicitous about writing Letters concerning the Peace restored to the Church, but also the Emperour *Constantine* signified the same, as appears by his Epistles extant in *Socrates*, one of which was written to the People of *Alexandria*, and is as follows.

Constantinus Augustus to the Catholic Church of *Alexander*.

GOD save you (Beloved Brethren.) We have received this great Blessing from the Divine Providence, that being releas'd from all Error, we now embrace and profess one and the same Faith. The Devil hath no longer Dominion over
us :

us: For all the Machinations be design'd against us, are now totally destroyed: The bright Lustre of Truth has defeated and expell'd all Dissentions, Schisms, Tumults, and (if I may so term them) all fatal Poysons of Discord. We all adore one God in Name; and we believe that he is: And that this might be effected by the Wisdom and Goodness of God, we conven'd a great Number of Bishops at the City of Nice, and we our self made one of the Number; and it is our singular Joy, that we are your Fellow-Servant, and have undertook the Disquisition of the Truth. We did therefore enquire into, and accurately discuss all things which seem'd to yield the least Occasion of Ambiguity or Dissention. But how great and horrid were the Blasphemies concerning our great Saviour, concerning our Hope and Life? How have some openly spoken and profess'd that they believe things which are contrary to the Divinely inspired Scriptures, and to the sacred Faith?

After that, no fewer than three hundred Bishops and upwards, admirable both for Moderation and Acuteness of Understanding, have unanimously confirmed one and the same Faith (which according to the Verity and accurate Disquisition of the Divine Law, can only be the Faith) Arius possess'd with a Diabolical Spirit, was found to be the only Person, who with an impious Mind disseminated this Mischief first amongst you, and afterwards amongst others. Let us embrace that

Opinion which God has delivered: Let us return to our beloved Brethren, from whom this impudent Servant of the Devil has separated us: Let us with Diligence hasten to the common Body, and to our own genuine Members. For it becomes our Prudence, Faith and Sanctity, that since his Error, (who hath been evidently prov'd to be an Enemy of the Truth) is confuted, we should return to the Divine Grace. For that which was approved of by three hundred Bishops, can be judged nothing else but the Determination of God. For doubtless the Holy Ghost residing in the Minds of such great and worthy Persons hath disclosed to them the Will of God.

Wherefore let none of you continue dubious, let none of you make Delays: But you all with great Chearfulness return to the right Way, that when we come unto you (which shall be as soon as possible) we may together with you, return due Thanks to God (who inspects all things) because he has revealed the pure Faith, and thereby restored to you that mutual Love, which was the subject of good Mens Prayers. My beloved Brethren, God preserve you.

Thus wrote the Emperour to the People of Alexandria: And from his affectionate Letter we may conclude, That the Determination of the Faith was not made unadvisedly and in Haste; but with a mature Dis-

Disquisition and diligent Examination of the Matters in Controversie, every thing being exactly poiz'd and consider'd by the Council, and nothing pass'd by in Silence that was fit to be spoken of, every Man having Liberty to produce and urge what he was able in Behalf of his Opinion: So that the Controversie was not inconsiderately determined, but with great Accuracy first discuss'd: Insomuch that all things whatsoever which seem'd to produce Matter of Ambiguity or Dissention, were wholly cleared and removed. And things being so prudently and piously manag'd and the Disputes carried on with that heavenly Calmness and Temper, the Emperour thought the Determination of all those there assembled, could be nothing else but the *Will of God*, and he stuck not to affirm, That the Unanimity of so many and such eminent Prelates, was procur'd by the Holy Ghost.

But the Conduct of the Synod, tho' it was even prudent to a Wonder; yet there were those who thought it to be otherwise, and who reflected upon the *Nicene* Bishops as so many Idiots and ignorant Fellows; of which Number was *Sabinus*, the Ring-leader of the *Macedonian* Heresie. This Man was not ashamed to asperse even *Eusebius*
Caesa-

Cæsariensis with the Imputation of Ignorance, and to accuse the whole Synod of Rashness and Indiscretion; not considering that altho' the Fathers in that Synod had been Idiots, yet in regard they were illuminated by God, and directed by the Holy Ghost, they cou'd in no wise err from the Truth.

The Emperour having writ in particular to the *Alexandrins*, he sent another Letttr to the Bishops and People of other Countries, wherein he sets down what had been decreed against *Arius* and those who embrac'd his Opinion; and that seeing he had followed the Practices of wicked and prophane Persons, it was but just that he shou'd undergo the same ignominy with them: And that as *Porphyrus*, an Enemy of true Piety, found a just Recompence for composing impious Volumes against Religion, and such a Recompence as had rendred him ignominious to Posterity, and cover'd him with Infamy and Reproach: So it seemed reasonable to term *Arius* and those of his Opinion, *Porphyrins*, and that they should derive a Name from him whom they so exactly imitated: And the Emperour commands that if any Book could be met with that was writ by *Arius*, it should be immediately burnt: That by this Means not only his wicked Doctrine might be wholly destroyed,

stroyed, but also that not one Monument of him should be left to Posterity : And the Emperour in the same Letter further declared, that if any Person should be found to conceal any Book compil'd by *Arius*, and did not immediately produce and burn it, he should suffer Death immediately upon his being found guilty.

To this Letter of the Emperour, *Arhanasius* alludes in his Epistle *ad Solitar.* and blames him for endeavouring to admit the *Arians* into the Church, seeing that he himself had fixt upon them the ignominious and execrable Name of *Porphyrians*.

It is evident this Letter did not concern the Council of *Nice* : For it makes not any Mention of it : But it did proceed from the Emperour's pious Zeal to have the Heretick *Arius* utterly suppress'd; against whom and the Followers of his Opinion, he wrote several other Letters, which he caus'd to be published in every City, according to the Custom of the *Roman* Emperours, which was to propose to publick View those Rescripts they wrote to the Cities : And at the Close of every Rescript they added this Word [*Proponatur*] let it be published. So *Constantine* when he wrote many Letters against *Arius* and his Followers, commanded they should be propounded to publick View in the *Forum*.

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And in all his Letters against *Arius*, he represents him as an infamous Person, and rebukes him with great Warmth and Sharpness.

Now *Arius* his Opinion, and all Books and Persons favouring it, being censur'd and anathematiz'd; Two of his most eminent Abettors, namely *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, began to retract what they had done; upon which they sent a Libel of Repentance to the most considerable Bishops, declaring their Agreement to the Exposition of the Faith given by the *Nicene* Fathers. Hereupon they were by Imperial Order recall'd from Exile, and readmitted to their Sees. This happen'd in the third Year after the Synod, that is, in the 328th Year of Christ. Upon their Restoration, those who had been ordain'd in their Places were removed.

Eusebius put out *Amphion*, and *Theognis*, *Crestus*.

The Libel containing the Recantation of *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, being very remarkable, I thought it very proper here to insert it.

The Libel of Recantation made by
Eusebius and Theognis, two notori-
ous Sticklers for *Arius*.

WE having sometime since been condemned
by your Piety, without having our Cause
declar'd or defended, ought quietly to bear what
has been determin'd by your holy Discretion.

But because it is absurd, by silence to give Oc-
casion of Calumny against our selves, for this
we declare to you, that we have unanimously a-
greed to the Determination about the Faith: And
also, after we had made Researches into the No-
tion of Homousios, with our utmost Earnest-
ness, labour'd for Peace, having never been Fol-
lowers of any Heresie: And when we had sugge-
sted whatever came into our Minds upon the Ac-
count of the Churches Security, and had fully satisf-
ied those that ought to be perswaded by us, we
subscrib'd the Faith, but have not subscrib'd the
Anathematism. Not that we had any thing to
object against the Faith, but because we did not
believe the Person accused to be such a one,
as he was represented; having been fully satisfied
that he was no such Person; partly by the pri-
vate Letters that he wrote us, and partly by the
Discourse that he made in our Presence: But if
your Holy Council was then satisfied, we now
make no Resistance, but agree to what you have
de-

determined. And by this Libel we do fully declare and confirm our Consent, which we are induc'd to do, not because we look upon our Exile to be tedious and burthensome, but that we might avoid the Suspicion of Heresie: For if you shall now vouchsafe to let us return to your Presence, you shall find us to be of the same Opinion with you in all Points, and quietly adhere to what you have determin'd: And since it hath seem'd to your Piety, to treat with great Gentleness even Arius, who is accus'd for these things, and to recall him from Banishment: Seeing that he who seem'd guilty, is recall'd, and has made his Defence in Reference to those things laid to his Charge; upon this Consideration it may justly seem absurd, that we should be silent, and by that Means yield an Argument against our selves. Do you therefore as befits the Piety of such as love Christ. Remind the Emperour of us, and to offer up our Supplications to him, and speedily to determine concerning us as shall be most agreeable to your Prudence.

By this Libel it appears, that Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia and Theognis Bishop of Nice, did subscribe the Faith which had been published, but wou'd not give their Consent to the deposing of Arius. It likewise appears by the same Libel, that Arius was recall'd from Banishment before the

two Bishops; which was done by the Emperour, and not the Fathers. But tho' he was recall'd, yet he was forbid to enter *Alexandria*: And this *Socrates* concludes from the Way he afterwards invented for his own Return into that Church and City; which was (saith *Socrates*) his making use of a counterfeit Repentance.

'Tis certain *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* and his Confederates made it their Business to bring *Arins* back again to *Alexandria*. But how they prevail'd in their Design, and after what Manner the Emperour was wrought upon to admit *Arins* and *Euzoim* into his Presence, comes now to be succinctly reported.

The Emperour *Constantine* had a Sister call'd *Constantia*, who had been married to *Licinius*, once Colleague with him in the Empire. This *Constantia* had a Priest for her Confident, who was reckon'd among her Domesticks, and a great Favourer of *Arianism*. This Man, prompted thereunto by *Eusebius*, and those of his Faction, did in his familiar Discourse with *Constantia* let fall some Words concerning *Arins*, saying, That the Synod had done him Wrong, and that his Sentiments were not as they represented. *Constantia* was easily induc'd to believe what was told her by the Presbyter: But she wanted

wanted Confidence to declare it to the Emperour. It happen'd that *Constantia* fell dangerously sick, and was daily visited by the Emperour; and finding her Distemper to grow mortal, and expecting nothing but immediate Death, she recommended the Presbyter to his Royal Favour, praising his Diligence and Piety, assuring the Emperour of his good Affection to his Government. *Constantia* dying, her Brother made the same Presbyter one of his greatest Confidants, who having by Degrees got a Liberty of speaking to the Emperour, took his Opportunity to tell him many things concerning *Arius*, affirming, he had no other Sentiments, than what were agreeable to the Synod's Determination; and that if the Emperour would admit him to his Presence, he would give Consent unto what the Synod had decreed. He told him also that *Arius* without all Reason had been falsely accus'd.

The Emperour seem'd much surpriz'd with what the Presbyter told him, and said, that if *Arius* would consent to the Synod's Determination, and declare that he was of the same Judgment with the *Nicene* Fathers, he would admit him to his Presence, and also send him back to *Alexandria* with Repute and Honour. And

And the Emperour having said thus, he immediately wrote to *Arius* after this Manner.

Vittor Constantinus Maximus Augustus to Arius.

I*t has sometime since been made known to your Gravity, that you should repair to our Court, in order to your being admitted to the Enjoyment of our Presence: And we much admire that you have not forthwith perform'd this. Wherefore immediately take a publick Chariot, and come with speed to our Court, that having experienc'd our Care and good Will, you may return to your own Country. God preserve you, Beloved Brother. Dated before the first of the Calends of December.*

Arius upon receiving this Letter, instantly repair'd to *Constantinople*, being accompanied with *Euzoius*, whom *Alexander* had divested of his Deaconship, when he depos'd *Arius* and his Associates. The Emperour admits them both into his Presence, and ask'd them whether they would agree to the *Nicene* Faith; and they readily giving their Assent, the Emperour commanded them to deliver in a Libel containing their Faith. Whereupon they drew up a Libel

82 *An Historical Account of the Hæresie*
of Repentance, which they presented to
the Emperour, and was as follows.

Arins and *Enzoins* to our most Re-
ligious and most Pious Lord *Con-*
stantine the Emperour.

According to the Order of your Piety (most
acceptable to God, our Lord the Emperour)
we declare our Faith, and in Writing profess
in the Presence of God, that we, and all our
Adherents do believe, as follows:

We believe in one God, the Father
Almighty; and in the Lord Jesus
Christ, who was made before all Worlds;
God the Word, by whom all things were
made that are in Heaven and that are in
Earth: Who came down from Heaven, and
was incarnate, and suffered and rose again,
and ascended into the Heavens: who also
shall come again to judge the Quick and the
Dead. We also believe in the Holy Ghost,
and in the Resurrection of the Flesh, and in
the Life of the World to come, and in the
Kingdom of Heaven, and one Catholick
Church of God, which is spread from
one End of the World to the other.

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This Faith we have received from the Holy Gospels, the Lord saying to his Disciples, Go ye, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. If we do not believe these things, and if we do not admit of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost in such Manner as the Holy Catholick Church and the Scriptures (which we believe in all things) do teach, God is our Judge both now and in the Judgment to come.

We therefore beseech your Piety (O Emperour most acceptable to God) That being Ecclesiastical Persons, and holding the Faith and Sense of the Church and the Holy Scriptures, we may by your peaceful and religious Piety be united to the Church: All Questions and superfluous Disputations being wholly taken away and suppress'd; thus so both we and the Church enjoying a mutual Peace and Union, may jointly offer up our usual Prayers for the peaceable Reign of your imperial Majesty, and for your whole Family.

Arius having deluded the Emperour with this Libel of Repentance, obtain'd Leave to return to Alexandria, where Athanasius being made Bishop upon the Death of Alexander, denied him Reception; whereupon Arius attempted to stir up new Com-motions by dispersing his Heresie. And

Albeit that both the Emperour and *Eusebius* wrote to *Athanasius*, That *Arius* and his Complices might be admitted into the Church, yet *Athanasius* utterly refused to grant them Admission; acquainting the Emperour, that it was impossible for those who once had rejected the Faith, and were anathematiz'd, to be entirely readmitted to their Degrees in the Church at their Return: For he held that the Ring-leaders of Heresies are not so easily to be reconcil'd to the Church, as their deluded Followers; and that the Church had been always wont to punish them with greater and longer Severities. Besides, *Athanasius* declar'd that he was not at all satisfied concerning the Sincerity of *Arius's* Repentance; and therefore till further Trial was had of him, he would not hear of his Restitution.

This was presently seiz'd upon by *Eusebius Nicomediensis* as a fit Handle for his Design, who immediately goes to the Emperour, and informs him of *Athanasius's* Carriage, complaining that he kept up Discord in the Church meerly to gratifie his private Piques and Animosities: And, that contrary to his Duty and the Laws of the Church, he deny'd *Arius* Absolution, when he desir'd it upon his Repentance. The Em-

denying the Godhead of Christ.

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Emperour hearing this, was highly incens'd, and being instigated by *Eusebius*, he wrote a threatening Letter to *Athanasius*; Part of which was thus.

HAVING receiv'd the Knowledge of our Wills do you grant a free Admission and Entrance into the Church to all such as desire it: For if we receive Information that you have prohibited any of those that are desirous to be united to the Church, or have hindered their Admission, we will immediately send one who shall be empower'd by our Order to depose you, and banish you your Country.

To this sharp Letter, *Athanasius* returned such a soft satisfactory Answer, as made the Emperour desist from interposing any further in the Business: But *Eusebius* finding himself defeated in this his Stratagem against *Athanasius*, tampers with the *Meletian* Schismatics of *Egypt*, to form a Plot against him. But this with all other Machinations, were by the Divine Providence wonderfully disappointed, as appears by the History of those Times.

Arius and his Followers were no sooner return'd to *Alexandria*, but there began new Disturbances.

The People of that City were much troubled at the Return of them, and at the Exile of *Athanasius*. But the Emperour perceiving the perverse and turbulent Nature of *Arius*, he orderd him to be sent for again to *Constantinople*, to give an Account of the Troubles he had laboured to rekindle. *Alexander*, who sometime before this had succeeded *Metrophanes*, did now preside over the Church at *Alexandria*. This Man gave sufficient Proof of his Piety and Acceptableness unto God, in the Conflict he at this Time had with *Arius*. Upon whose Arrival at that City the People divided in Factions, which caus'd an universal Commotion amongst them; some of them affirming that the *Nicene* Creed ought to continue inviolate, and without any Alteration; and others pertinaciously asserted that *Arius's* Opinion was consonant to Reason. *Alexander* thereupon was reduced to a great Streight, and the more because *Elasbius Nicomedensis* had sorely threatned him, saying, that he would forthwith cause him to be deposed, unless he would admit *Arius* and his Followers into Communion: But *Alexander* was not so solicitous about his own Deposition, as he was fearful of weakening the Faith, which the Heretick and

and his Associates, endeavoured to subvert : For looking upon himself as Guardian and Patron of the Determinations made by the *Nicene* Synod, he made it his Business to prevent the Wrestling and depraving of 'em. Being therefore reduc'd to signal Extremities, he entirely bad farewell to all Humane Assistances, and humbly and solely depended upon God ; whom having made his only Refuge, he devoted himself continually to Fasting and Prayer : And having shut up himself in the Church *Irene*, he went to the Altar, and laying himself prostrate on the Ground under the Holy Table ; where for many Nights and Days together he poured forth his Prayers and Tears, begging of God, that if the Opinion of *Arius* was true, he might not live to see the Day appointed to discuss it : But if that which he profess'd was true, that *Arius* might receive some visible condign Punishment for his Impiety in opposing it. And God was pleased to hear his Prayer : For the Emperour (saith the History) being desirous to make trial of *Arius*, sends for him to the Palace, and ask'd him, whether he would give his Assent to the *Nicene* Determinations : He without any Hesitation said he would, and subscrib'd them in the Presence of the Emperour, who admiring at it, re-

quired him to swear to the Truth of what he had subscrib'd; which he also did, making use of Artifice and Fraud; which was thus. *Arius* having writ down his Opinion in Paper, hid it under his Arm-pit, and swore that he really thought as he had writtens.

That *Arius* did both swear and subscribe to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Synod, appears by the Emperour's own Letters; but for the Deceit he used in swearing, Historians are not positive.

But the Emperour believing that *Arius* dealt sincerely in what he swore and subscrib'd, presently gave Order to *Alexander*, Bishop of *Constantinople* to admit him to Communion. It was then *Saturday*; and on the next Day he expected to be a Member of the Assembly of Believers: But Divine Vengeance follow'd him so closely that he did not live till next Day: For when he came out of the Imperial Palace attended by the *Eusebian* Party, like Guards, through the midst of the City, the Eyes of all People being upon him, as he came near the Place call'd *Constantine's Forum*, he was seiz'd with a horrible Terror, proceeding from his Guilt, which was accompanied with a Looseness. Hereupon he enquired for a House of Office, and understanding there was one behind *Constantine's Forum*, he went

went thither; whither he was no sooner come, but he was seiz'd with a fainting Fit, and together with his Excrements his Fundament fell down, and a great Flux of Blood, his Spleen, Liver and Small Guts all gush'd out together : So that he immediately expir'd.

The Suddenness and Manner of *Arius's* Death occasion'd a great Fear and Anxiety amongst those of the Faction; and it mov'd the Emperour to say, that God himself had confirm'd the *Nicene* Faith. But contrary to all Expectation, the Heresie surviv'd the Heretick, it being kept alive by *Eusebius* : Who tho' he had no great Kindness for *Arianism*, yet he could not endure the Word *Homousios*, nor those who defend it. And it is very observable, that after the *Nicene* Council, the *Eusebians* never appeared bare-fac'd in the Behalf of the *Arian* Doctrine, and yet they were still angry with the *Nicene* Creed, meerly for the sake of the Term *Homousios*. *Eusebius* by the Interest he had got in *Constantine's* Court, had great Opportunity of doing much Mischief to the Church : And where his Malice and Revenge were concern'd, he was never wanting to do his worst. It appears by what is related of his Carriage, that he was a proud Man, of an implacable Spirit,

Spirit, and one who could not brook any thing that he apprehended to be an Injury or an Affront: which unhappy Temper put him upon studying nothing so much as Revenge. And *Athanasius* appear'd on all Occasions to be the main and peculiar Object of his Malice. For he could never forget how that excellent Person had born down him and his whole Party, in the Synod of *Nice*. Now for so powerful a Prelate as *Eusebius*, to be top'd by so mean a Person as *Athanasius*, who had attain'd no higher Degree in the Church than that of a Deacon: For *Eusebius*, I say, by so mean a Person to be brought on his Knees and forc'd to publick Submission, was an Indignity so intolerable to the proud Spirit of *Eusebius*, that neither the Blood of *Athanasius*, nor of all his Friends was sufficient to satiate his unquenchable Revenge: And all the Accusations forg'd against *Athanasius*, were of such Crimes, for which nothing less than capital Punishments could be inflicted. For they laid to his Charge no Sin inferiour to Murther, Rapes and Treason; as is to be seen in *Athanasius's* second Apology.

Another Pique *Eusebius* had against *Athanasius*, was his not restoring *Arius* at his Request. And, as *Socrates* informs us,

Eusebi-

Eusebius set all his Wit at Work to undo *Arbanius*, and to root out the Doctrine of *Consubstantiality*, and that for no other Reason, but because he was not the Author of it himself; and that it was brought into the Creed by *Arbanius*, and others whom he hated. But not only *Eusebius*, but also several others, either by his Example or by his Instigation, had their Minds much disturbed about the same Point. And it appears (saith *Socrates*) by several Letters which the Bishops wrote to one another after the Synod of *Nice*, that they were not all well pleas'd with the Term *Homousios*; which prov'd of ill Consequence: For whilst they were busie about this Word, making but too curious Enquiries into its Importance and Meaning, they rais'd an intestine War amongst themselves: And what was done herein was not unlike a Fight in the Dark: For neither Side seem'd to see perfectly what they fell out about, or why they reviled one another. They that had an Aversion for the Term *Homousios*, look'd upon them that embrac'd it, as Introducers of *Sabellianism* and of the Opinion of the Followers of *Montanus*; who denied the three Persons of the Godhead, saying that the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one and the same Person.

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On the other hand, they that were for the Word *Homoousios*, abominated those that were against it, looking upon them as bringers in of Polytheism: And tho' both sides asserted that the Son of God had a proper, real and peculiar Person and Existence; yet (how it came to pass I know not) they could in no wise agree among themselves, nor endure to be quiet. But the Bishops wrote one against another with as much Bitterness as if they had been utter Enemies.

But the Controversie being long continued between the *Eusebians* and the Assertors of the *Nicene Faith*, the *Arian Heresie* as if it had taken the Opportunity of this Contrast, began again to appear upon the Stage, with a little Alteration in the Dress. For *Photinus* Bishop of *Sirmium* in *Illyricum*, reviv'd the old exploded Opinion of *Paul of Samosata*, which differ'd from *Arianism* but in this one Circumstance, viz. That it affirms the Son of God was created, but not before his Nativity: Whereas *Arius* will have him to have been created the first of the Creatures. So that they differ only as to the time of his being created, both agreeing in the Poyson of the Heresie: Namely, that Christ was created. But yet *Arius* was not altogether so degrading of the

the *Messias* as *Photinus*: The Former allow'd him a great Share in the Creation of the Universe, and an Eminency, Power and Dignity over all other Creatures: But the Latter brought Christ down into the same Rank with every ordinary Man. This bold Heresie alarm'd both the Catholicks and *Eusebians*, and both agree to have a Council call'd at *Sirmium* about it; where the Bishops being assembled, they condemn'd the *Photinian* Heresie, and compos'd a large Explication of the Faith, which they sent to the Bishops of *Italy*. In which Explication they take Notice that *Photinus* and his Followers deriv'd their Heresie from the *Jews*, who deny the eternal Existence and Godhead of Christ, holding that the *Messias* whom they still expect shall be by Nature a meer Man, and be Deified only by Promotion: Which *Jewish* Blasphemy being defended by *Photinus*, he was justly depos'd by a Synod of Bishops, which the Emperour conven'd at *Sirmium*.

But notwithstanding that he was Synodically depos'd, yet the Sentence of Deposition was not irrevocable: For we find that *Photinus* might have been restor'd to his Bishoprick, if he would have alter'd his Mind, and anathematiz'd his Opinion, and consented to the Sentiments of the Coun-

Council. But he was so far from doing this, that he challeng'd the Bishops to a Dispute, and to vindicate what he held. *Basilus* at that time presiding over the Church of *Ancyra*, accepted the Challenge, and enter'd Disputation with *Photinus*, and an Account of their Dispute was taken by Notaries appointed for that Purpose. The Combat was on both sides manag'd with Warmth, *Photinus* in the End was overcome, and condemn'd to Exile; in which he spent the Residue of his Life in writing against Heresies.

But the Mischief ended not in the Deposition and Banishment of *Photinus*: For at *Antiach* in *Syria* there arose another Arch-Heretick, one *Aetius*, surnamed *Arbeus*. He was of the same Opinion with *Arius*, but yet separated from the *Arians*; because they had admitted *Arius* into Communion, whom he detested for his Dissimulation in holding one Opinion in his Mind and making Profession of the contrary with his Mouth; as all knew he did in his Subscription (made before the Emperour) to the Form of the Creed drawn up by the *Nicene* Fathers: For tho' *Aetius* was a zealous Assertor of the *Arian* Doctrine, yet he would not joyn in Communion with those who profess'd it: Because when they knew

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the Hypocrisie of *Arius*, they admitted him into their Fellowship. This *Aetius*, by what we find recorded of him, appears to have been a Man of little Learning, unskilful in the Scriptures, and of a wonderful contentious and disputing Humour. He was not at all studious in the Perusal of those ancient Writers, who had explain'd the sacred Books of the Christian Religion. And tho' he was of the same Opinion with the *Arians*, yet he was so obstruse in his Arguments for it, and his Sentiments were so perplex'd, that the *Arians* themselves not being able to understand 'em, judg'd him to be an Heretick: And as such he was driven from their Communion.

But to conclude all I have to say at present on this Subject: There happen'd at last such an happy Agreement amongst the Bishops, as thro' the Blessing of God turn'd to the casting out of that evil Spirit of *Arianism*, which had so long tormented the Church. For the Bishops being by the Death of *Constantius* freed from that Violence and Oppression which that Emperour and his Officers, had put upon the Discipline of the Church; and being at Liberty to exert that Authority wherewith Christ himself had vested them: They restor'd that Peace and Concord to the Church which they could never

never compass under *Constantius*; and put an End to the *Arian* Heresie, and establish'd the *Nicene* Faith over the Christian World. Which wonderful Felicity was by God's Providence chiefly procur'd by the Zeal Piety and wise Conduct of *Atanasius*; who being restored by the Synod of *Sandion*, returned to *Alexandria*: Where he presently call'd a Council for the Resettlement of the Catholick Church; which by the furious and long Oppression of *Constantius* had been miserably harass'd and disturb'd. The Bishops being assembled, they luckily hit upon several healing Conclusions. As

1. That those Bishops who had joyn'd with the Hereticks, either out of Ignorance, Surprise, or Violence, upon their Return to the Catholick Church, should be receiv'd without Deprivation of Dignity; because their Compliance with the *Arians* was to be look'd upon as Want of Prudence, and not as an Apostacy from the Orthodox Faith. For tho' for Peace sake some of the Bishops that were restor'd, had consented to have the Word *Hoomousios*, or Consubstantial left out of the *Nicene* Creed, yet they anathematiz'd all the Points of the *Arian* Heresie, and shew'd that they were not tainted therewith. But as to those Bishops who

who had been the Ring-leaders of Heresie, they were so depriv'd as never to rise Lay-Communion. Which was agreeable to the standing Discipline of the Church.

2. The Synod adjust'd the Controversie which had lately happen'd between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, concerning the Words *Hypostasis* and *Persona*. For *Hypostasis* being the same with *Ousia* (signifying Substance) the *Latins* thought that the *Greeks* own'd three distinct Substances when they profess'd the Belief of three *Hypostases*. And the *Greeks* finding that the *Latins* rejected the Word *Hypostasis*, and in Lieu thereof used the Word *Persona*, they thought that they asserted nothing real, but a meer relative Distinction. The word *Persona* generally denoting not the Man himself, but his Office and Relation. And the Contest about these Words ran so high, that it had like to have produc'd a Breach between the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches. Which being foreseen by *Athanasius*, he prudently to accommodate the Dispute, propounded to the Synod, That both Words should indifferently be made use of in both Churches.

And the

the Proposition being agreed unto by the Synod, all Suspicion on both sides was remov'd, the present Controversie silenced, and so continues to this Day.

3. *Athanasius* finding that the Confession of Faith, which the *Eusebian* Party had presented in the Council of *Serdica* was by some mightily cry'd up as if it had been approv'd of by that Council, the *Alexandrian* Fathers took Care to undeceive the People in this important Affair; which they did by proving that the *Eusebian* Confession was utterly rejected by the Council of *Serdica*; and that that Synod refused to alter any thing of the *True* Faith.

And the Council having thus adjusted all Matters, and finished their Decrees, they drew them up in a Circular Letter, which they sent to the Bishops of the CHRISTIAN WORLD.

And, as *Athanasius* took much Pains for settling the Church in *Africa*, so *Hilarius* did the like to restore the Church in *France*. And in order to this, he got a Council to be call'd at *Paris*, wherein the Proceedings at *Arminum* were condemn'd, and the ancient Liberties restored to the Church, which she enjoyed till they

they were invaded by *Constantius*. In this Council those that had subscribed the Creed of *Ariminum*, confess'd their Fault in leaving out the Word *Ousia* (or Substance) frankly owning that they had been over-reach'd; and they took the Sacrament that they meant no harm in what they did, and that they abhor'd the Consequence that all Men made out of it; and so begg'd Pardon for what through Ignorance and Surprize had been done by them. This Council was so unanimous in their Opinions, that there was but one Dissenter, Namely, *Saturninus*, Bishop of *Arles*; who for his disagreeing from the Synod, was deposed by it.

And thus by the pious and discreet Care of *Arbanaſius* in the East, and of *Milani* in France, the Church was settled in Peace and Truth, and a good Correspondence maintain'd betwixt the Oriental and French Bishops, which occasioned no small Regret to the Enemies of Christianity; especially to *Julian* the Emperour, who used all imaginable Artifice to root it out, and to replant Paganism in its Room.

This

This Apostate now put off his *Mask* of pretended Kindness to the Christians: And this happy Settlement of the Church so heightend his Malice, that as both *Saxomen* and *Socrates* observed, he out-did all his Ancestors in Fury and Rage against the Christians; who likewise out-did all their Ancestors in Patience and Obedience.

Julian, famously known by the *Stigma* of Apostate, being dead, *Jovian* succeeded him in the Empire. He found the Affairs of the Christians in a very unsedate Condition, partly by reason of the malicious Industry his Predecessor had used totally to suppress them; and partly by the Divisions that were among the Christians themselves. The last Stratagem invented by *Julian* to extirpate the Christians, was the Law he made, "That Christians should not be allow'd an Education in Humane Literature; lest, said he, when they have therewith sharpen'd their Tongues, they shou'd with greater Readiness answer the Heathen Disputants."

This Law occasion'd the two *Apolinaris's*, Father and Son to write with good Success in Behalf of the Christians

stians. The one was famous for *Grammar*, and the other for *Rhetorick*. But Divisions among the Christians were most obstructive of their Peace.

At *Jovian's* Entrance upon his Reign, the Principal Heads of every Party made their (*προσέλευον*) Addresses to the Emperour, in hopes they should obtain from him Power and Authority against those whom they reputed their Adversaries.

Basilins, Bishop of *Ancyra*, with six other Bishops, presented a supplicatory Libel to the Emperour, in behalf of the *Macedonians*, who took their Name from *Macedonius*, an *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*. They held that Christ

“was not of the same Essence A. D. 343.

“with the Father, but only

“like unto him : And that the Holy

“Ghost was not God, but God's Mini-

“ster, and no more eternal than any o-

“ther Creature. These Hereticks were

never constant in their Doctrine; but some-

times *Arians*, sometimes *Semi-Arians*, and

sometimes *Orthodox*. In the Name of

these Weather-Cock Hereticks, *Basilins*

and his Fellows supplicate the Empe-

roure, that all those who Asserted the

Son to be more than barely like the Father, might be cast out of their Churches, and themselves put in their Places.

The Emperour having received their Address, sends them away without any other Answer, "than that he abominat-
"ed Contentiousness, and loved and
"honour'd those who were desirous of
"Unity and Concord. Which Words
had the good Effect to mollifie their
Stiffness, who were Lovers of Contention:
Which was the Thing design'd and intend-
ed by the Emperour.

At this time also the *Iconians* (who held, "That the Son was a Creature
"made by the Father, and like him in
"Will, but not in Substance) began to shew their Disposition to Unpeaceable-
ness. They were indeed Notorious
Trimmers, and ever ready to be of their
Judgment who were uppermost and like-
liest to promote 'em.

These meeting with *Meletius* at *Anti-och*, in *Syria*, and entring into Discourse with him, and finding that he embrac-
ed the *Homoousion* Doctrine, and that
he was highly in Favour with the Em-
perour, they made Profession of the same
Do-

Doctrine and conform'd to the *Nicene Creed*. And by a general Consent drew up a Libel and presented it to *Jovinian*: which is to be seen in *Socrates, Book 3. Chap. 15. Ecclesiast. Hist.* In which Libel they in particular declared their Embracing the Term *Homoousias*, as it was with great Caution explain'd by the *Nicene Fathers*: And at the same time publickly declared; first, That the Generation of the Son was inexplicable. 2. That the Term *Ousia* was not taken by the *Nicene Fathers* in the usual Signification which the *Gracians* put upon it; but that they made use of it in order to the Subversion of what had been impiously and audaciously held by *Arius* concerning Christ, who affirmed, That he existed of things that were not. (Which Opinion the *Uplstart Eusebians* maintain'd to the great Disturbance of Ecclesiastick Unity.) 3. They assur'd the Emperour, that in all Points they did agree to the Belief set forth by the Bishops convened at *Nicaea*. And the Bishops, who consented to the Libel, subscribed their Names.

H 4 *Jovinian*

Jovian graciously received the said Libel, and seem'd not at all concerned what Opinion they were of, so long as they kept themselves quiet. And it is very observable, That by kind Words and Persuatives he mightily suppress'd the contentious Humour then on foot, and strangely calm'd their Fury, who made it their business to cavil and contend. And by his dextrous Management, if *Jovian* had liv'd, both the Civil and Ecclesiastick Affairs of the *Roman* Empire might in all Probability, have been fortunate and successful. But alas! a sudden Death depriv'd both Church and State of this excellent Personage.

Jovianus having ended his Life at *Dadastana*, on the Frontiers of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, after the short Reign of seven Months, *Valentinianus*, by an unanimous Suffrage of the Soldiers, was chosen to succeed him. Upon which Choise, he straightway made his Brother *Valens* his Colleague in the Empire. They were both Christians; but both disagreed about the Faith of the Christian Religion. *Valentinianus* had a Veneration for the *Nicene* Creed. *Valens* by reason of a Prepossession, adhered

to the *Arian* Heresie. And this his Prepossession arose from his being baptized by *Eudoxius* of *Constantinople*, a Prelate of the *Arian* Opinion.

Both the Brothers were very warm in Maintenance of the Sentiments to which they adhered: And though they agreed in the Care of the Civil Government, yet they differed much about the Christian Religion. And were very different in their Carriage towards such as profess'd it. For *Valentinianus*, though he much favoured those who were of his Judgment, yet he was not in the least troublesome to the *Arians*. But *Valens* desirous to promote the *Arians*, did most grievously disturb, and molest those who differed from them in Opinion. Every Sect had their Bishops to preside over them; And all but the Orthodox were still striving to mend the Belief of Nice: To which Purpose the *Macedonians* desire the Emperour *Valens* to give leave to convene a Synod.

He supposing that they had been of the same Opinion with *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, granted their Request.

Accordingly a Council met at *Laamp-
sacæ*, nigh the *Hellepont*. It was a Syn-
nod of *Macedonian* Hereticks, and it sa-
tified the Council which Seven Years be-
fore had been hold at *Seleucia*, *A. D.*
363, and damned that of *Constantinople*,
held by the *Acacians*. They also ana-
thematiz'd the Creed, that was publish-
ed at *Arimine*, though they had before de-
clared their Agreement in Opinion with
those that held it.

Valens was much incensed against this
Synod, both because it had deposed the
Arian Bishops, and anathematized that
Draught of the Creed, published at *Ari-
mine*. And the Emperour was resolved
to leave no Means unattempted where-
by he might win all Persons to *Aria-
nism*. *Elusius* Bishop of *Cixicum*, was the
first he aggressed; who for fear of lo-
sing his Estate, turned *Arian*. And the
very *Semi-Arians* fared no better than
the *Orthodox*; but all were the Object of
his persecuting Spirit, who were not
thoroughly *Arianized*. But his Rage was
most visibly exercised against the *Homo-
ensians*, whom he persecuted in all those
who bore them any Esteem or good
Will. He was much stirred up to this Cru-
elty

denying the Godhead of Christ. 1071

erty by the Arian Prelate Eudoxius, by
whose Instigation he turned out the Or-
thodox Clergy; who during the fifteen
Years that Valens reigned, scarce ever
enjoyed the Comfort of one peaceable
Day.

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